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Fig. 2. ATHLETE (Greek, about 450 B.C.).

Fig. 3. GREEK MIRROR (about 400 B.C.).

Fig. 4. STANDING GIRL (Archaic Etruscan, sixth century B.C.).

Fig. 5. DANCING GIRL (Archaic Greek, sixth century B.C.).

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

ART IN AMERICA · AN ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE · VOLUME III NUMBER I · DECEMBER MCMXIV

THE COLLECTION OF CLASSICAL BRONZES IN THE
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART · BY GISELA
M. A. RICHTER¹

BEFORE studying a collection of Greek bronzes it may be well to consider their essential characteristics, the inherent qualities, which distinguish them from the bronzes of the Renaissance and from those of modern times. In so doing we are confronted with the difficulty with which every art critic is familiar, that of putting into words what is so evident to his perception but which seems to defy analysis. For the difference between classical bronzes and those of later periods is chiefly one of conception and of style; the subjects and even the manner of representation are often identical. In Renaissance and modern sculpture there is an element of intimacy and of individuality which never appears in ancient work; for Greek work, even in its most realistic periods, remains impersonal. To the Greek artist the modelling of the human body in rest and in motion, the imparting of vitality to his figures, the creation of harmonious, flowing lines in his compositions, were the ideals to be attained. He never tried to teach a moral lesson in his work, and the expression of religious and emotional feeling or the embodiment of ideas which was the chief concern of the artist of the later periods was outside his ken. The Greek artist was, in fact, not so much interested in studying the individual varieties of human nature, as in trying to produce the Greek ideal of man—athletic, graceful, well-balanced, and serene. That this is a type and not a faithful portrait may or may not be so. It is possible that the Greek men and women were as physically perfect as the Greek artist of the fine periods represented them. But even in that case, and though the modelling be faithful and realistic in its details, the conception of the whole was inspired,

¹In this article I have borrowed freely from my forthcoming Catalogue of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

we feel, by abstract considerations of beauty. This does not mean that there is not an infinite variety in Greek sculptural art, but the variety was governed by certain accepted laws, developed along definite channels. It was reserved for the modern artist to approach nature unhampered by rules and traditions and to interpret her according to his own free individuality.

Technically there is also an important difference between ancient bronzes and Renaissance and modern pieces. The ancient patina is natural and not artificial as is that of the later specimens. The Greeks and Romans, to judge by what evidence we have, kept their bronzes in their original color and thereby had the double advantage of a rich golden tone and a beautiful play of reflected lights on the surface.

The Metropolitan Museum is fortunate enough to possess one of the most representative collections of ancient bronzes in the world. Almost every branch of ancient bronze working can there be studied, both from an artistic and a technical point of view. We can follow the development of the history of Greek sculpture in the statues, statuettes, and reliefs, which date from the earliest times to the period of decline; and we can appreciate the decorative instinct of the ancients by studying the ornaments on their utensils and implements. Moreover, the collection includes fine specimens of ancient work in casting, hammering, engraving, inlaying, cutting, and silvering; so that we can become familiar with the manifold technical processes employed by the ancients, and thereby appreciate also the more fully their artistic value; for it is impossible really and properly to understand a work of art without knowing the difficulties which the artist surmounted in producing it.

The importance of a collection of ancient bronzes is largely due to the fact that bronze played a much more significant rôle in antiquity than it plays with us; for it was used for a large variety of objects for which we employ different materials. Nowadays our kitchen pots and pans are commonly of aluminium and tin; our table service is of china and glass; the fittings of our furniture are of iron, steel, and brass; our swords and daggers are of steel, as are also most of our tools. But for all such articles bronze was one of the chief materials employed by the ancients. A representative collection of ancient bronzes, such as that in the Metropolitan Museum, can therefore give us a vivid picture of the life of the

Greeks and Romans by making us see the sort of objects by which they were surrounded and the kind of implements which they used to perform their daily work. Furthermore, historically bronze occupies a unique position. During a period of almost two thousand years, that is, during the so-called Bronze Age, man went through a certain stage of civilization, the chief characteristic of which was that his tools were no longer of stone and not yet of iron, but were made of bronze, a fact which is of supreme importance in the dating of prehistoric tombs.

Another consideration that we must take into account in studying ancient bronzes is the fact that bronze was the favorite material with Greek sculptors for their large single figures at least until the fourth century B.C. and only to a slightly less degree later. For us this is difficult to realize, because our museums are now filled with ancient marble figures, and only isolated examples of statues in bronze have survived. But Pliny, speaking of the large number of bronze statues in his day, says that private dwellings were so full of them that they might be mistaken for some public place; and in the fifth century A.D. the number of bronze statues in Rome was estimated at three thousand seven hundred. The reasons for the disappearance of the majority of these bronze statues are obvious. They had the disadvantage of being comparatively light and made of a material which had an intrinsic value. The result was that when the Romans systematically despoiled Greece to beautify their own cities, the bronze sculptures, being more easily portable, were naturally favored; and when later the barbarians swept down on Italy, these bronze statues, as well as those produced by the Romans themselves, were placed in the melting-pot and turned into valuable spoils. The bronze statuettes, on the other hand, being of more modest proportions and thus of less value, largely escaped this fate, and it is on them that our knowledge of sculptural art in bronze is at present chiefly based.

It is impossible in the short space of an article to deal fully with all the bronzes which constitute the collection now in the Metropolitan Museum. All we can attempt to do is to draw attention to a few of the more important examples.

Most conspicuous among the works of the archaic period is the famous Etruscan chariot found at Monteleone, which dates from the middle of the sixth century B.C. It is the only complete ancient

bronze chariot at present known, and the bronze reliefs which form the sheathing of the wooden framework rank among the most important examples of ancient repoussé work. When we remember the immense difficulties of such work, that the plates had to be kept in a heated condition while they were hammered out, that they had to be reversed several times until the design was completed, and the danger of breaking the thin bronze during this process, we shall indeed marvel at the proficiency attained in this technique at so early a period. Great skill is also shown in the incised decorations with which the garments and the armor of the different figures are ornamented. The subjects of the various reliefs have not yet been ascertained with certainty. The most plausible interpretation is that they are not correlated, but represent single incidents, borrowed from vase-paintings or other Greek monuments. Thus the central panel shows a warrior receiving his armor from a woman, and on the side panels are two warriors fighting and a warrior driving his chariot. The many accessories in the background are best explained as purely decorative motives introduced to fill the space.

Among the statuettes of the archaic period one of the most important is a nude dancing-girl (Fig. 5), which originally formed the support of a mirror. She stands upon the back of a large frog, and is playing upon a pair of cymbals. Though easily recognizable as the work of a primitive artist, especially in the modelling of the face, yet it shows the appreciation of the beauty of natural forms and the painstaking struggle to express it which give a peculiar fascination to the work of early Greek sculptors. Like the chariot, it probably dates from about the middle of the sixth century B.C.

Another statuette of importance is a standing girl, lent by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan (Fig. 4). This is one of the finest Etruscan figures in existence. It is full of the naïve charm and delicacy of archaic Greek art, and shows none of the clumsiness and artificiality that characterize many of the Etruscan imitations. Moreover, the garments are charmingly decorated with small, incised ornaments, and the rendering of the hair is remarkably lifelike. The dress is the same as that worn by the famous maidens in the Akropolis Museum; but it is noteworthy that the artist came to grief in trying to represent it, making the mantle appear merely as a front panel, instead of letting it pass round the figure front and back. This



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Fig. 6. EROS (Late Greek).

Fig. 7. APHRODITE (Late Greek).

Fig. 8. ETRUSCAN MIRROR: APHRODITE PERSUADING HELEN TO JOIN PARIS.

Fig. 9. CARICATURE (Late Greek).

Fig. 10. HERMARCHOS (?) (Greek, third century B.C.).

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

suggests that he was copying from a vase-painting or a relief, which gave him only the front view.

Other fine statuettes of this period are an Arcadian peasant wearing a pointed hat and heavy mantle, carefully fastened across his breast by a long pin; a youth carrying a pig on his shoulders, of remarkably lifelike rendering and excellent modelling; young Herakles in rapid forward motion; and a charming group of a Seilenos and a nymph. In these the features are modelled no longer in the primitive manner, but in the developed archaic style. The eyeballs, for instance, are not so prominent as in the earliest figures, the mouth is no longer a simple curved line with turned-up ends resulting in the archaic smile, but is more or less carefully rendered, an effort being made to form a transition from the corners of the mouth to the cheeks; and the chin and the cheekbones, though still strongly accentuated, are no longer treated with any exaggeration.

Of the transition period (480-450 B.C.) the Museum possesses three statuettes of the first order. This is the more fortunate as specimens of that epoch are extremely rare. They are a disk-thrower, an *adorans* or man saluting a divinity, and an athlete. The disk-thrower (Fig. 1) is represented holding the disk in his left hand level with his head, about to swing it upward, downward, and backward before the final throw-off. It is an attitude preparatory to violent action, and this is borne out by the tenseness of the muscles and the way the toes are represented as clutching the ground. The only remnants of archaism in this figure are noticeable in the undue accentuation of the muscles of the arms and of the calves, and in the treatment of the hair and the face.

The *adorans* stands in a dignified pose, his right hand raised to his lips in the customary attitude of saluting a divinity. Like the disk-thrower it combines an advanced technique with a few remnants of archaism, such as a certain stiffness of pose and a rather primitive rendering of the hair and ears.

The figure of the athlete (Fig. 2) is of only slightly later date than the two preceding, belonging probably to the middle of the fifth century, while the other two can be dated at about 480 and 470 B.C. respectively. It is beautifully modelled in a delicate, simple manner characteristic of that period, and the surface is fortunately well preserved, so that every detail can be appreciated. The attitude is one of concentrated action, recalling the works of

Myron, under whose influence this bronze was probably created: What the action was is not certain. He used to be called a diver; but if he were diving, it would be more natural for him to hold his hands together and lean further forward. He may be finishing a jump, or possibly about to jump, as the attitude is not unlike that of jumpers on vase-representations.

The fine period (second half of fifth century B.C.) is represented by several specimens of high merit. First must be mentioned the statuette of a youth standing with right arm somewhat extended. In its stylistic qualities this bronze shows a close affinity to those of the great Argive sculptor, Polykleitos. Both the pose and the proportions of the body, such as the square build, the short thighs, and the flatness of the abdominal region are a characteristic of that sculptor, as are also the shape of the skull and the treatment of the hair and face. The execution is excellent, the modelling being fresh and vigorous, and great attention being given to the rendering of details.

A youth in a praying attitude is probably a votive figure of the same period. The influence of Polykleitos is apparent in the form of the shoulders and the arms, but the rendering of the chest and the abdomen, with deep instead of shallow pelvic curve, is pre-Polykleitan. The splendid way in which the body is modelled would point to Greek workmanship.

A round ornament with the contest of a youth and griffin is a fine example of work in repoussé relief during this epoch. The figures are beautifully modelled, the strain of the combat being well represented in the tenseness of the muscles. The composition is skilfully designed to fill the round space allotted to it.

Here must be mentioned a remarkable series of Greek and Etruscan mirrors, of which the earliest examples still belong to the fifth century, but the majority date from the fourth century B.C. As is well known, the Greeks, like the Egyptians, used polished bronze for reflection, glass mirrors not having been invented apparently until Roman times. Though large mirrors were known to the ancients, by far the largest number and the only ones that have survived to our time are hand mirrors. Of these there are three chief types: mirrors with stands, which could be placed on a table; mirrors with handles; and mirrors with ornamented covers. All three forms are represented in the Museum collection; but especially

noteworthy are several examples of round mirrors with covers decorated with reliefs. Three represent female heads (cf. Fig. 3), the others mythological scenes. The best of these rank among the finest examples of Greek repoussé relief known. The workmanship in its delicacy and precision surpasses everything that has been produced since in this technique. Besides repoussé reliefs engraved scenes were also used for the decoration of mirrors. These were applied either on the inside of the covers or on the back of the mirrors with handles. We have already had occasion to admire the engraved decorations on some of the archaic specimens in this collection. The independent incised compositions on the mirrors have even greater artistic merit. When we consider the difficulty of this technique and the great experience it presupposes in the artist before he could produce work of such excellence as, for instance, the scene of Herakles and Atlas, or Aphrodite Persuading Helen to Join Paris (Fig. 8), we can realize with what patience and perseverance the Greek bronze-worker, like every true artist, applied himself to master the technical difficulties of his art.

The various phases of Hellenistic art (end of fourth to first century B.C.) are admirably illustrated in the Museum collection. A remarkable example of portraiture from that period is the statuette of a philosopher, probably Hermarchos, the successor of Epicurus (Fig. 10). This is the finest Greek portrait-statue on a small scale now in existence. The dignity of the pose and the lifelike rendering of the figure combine to make it a masterpiece of its kind. In the treatment of the body there is a marked realism, such as the manner in which the skin is represented as shrunken by age, and the prominence of the abdomen; but the figure as a whole is full of force and dignity, and the general conception is more suggestive of full-size sculpture than is usual in work of small dimensions.

The representation of children became very popular in Hellenistic times, when they were for the first time properly studied. A splendid example of this tendency is the famous statue of an Eros, lent by Mr. Morgan (Fig. 6). He is represented springing forward, lightly poised on his right foot, and holding the socket of a torch in his left arm. The artist has admirably succeeded in conveying the lightness and grace associated in our minds with the conception of Eros. Everything in the figure suggests rapid forward

motion; but this is attained without sacrificing the perfect balance of all parts, so that the impression made is at the same time one of buoyancy and of restraint.

Another charming specimen is the statuette of an Eros represented as a little boy stretched out on a rock. The complete relaxation of the child is wonderfully portrayed and the modelling is both careful and spirited.

The love for the dramatic and the grotesque, which became very strong in late Greek art, is exemplified in the Museum collection by two admirable specimens, a statuette of an actor in a declamatory pose, and a wonderful little figure of a caricature (Fig. 9). The latter is not only remarkable for its finished execution and for its conception, but is technically of great interest. It shows with what extreme care some ancient bronzes were worked and decorated. The eyes, the teeth, the hair, the whiskers, the little buttons on the sleeves, are all inlaid partly in silver, partly in niello; and the forearms, which are now missing, were evidently made in separate pieces and inserted.

Another fine piece of this period is a large statuette of Aphrodite in the attitude of the Knidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles (Fig. 7). The graceful proportions of the body and the wonderful delicacy of the face make it a worthy reproduction of its famous original.

When we come to the Roman period we have to distinguish two different kinds of material, the works which are copies from Greek models, and those which are original creations of the Roman period. Of the former there are a great number, illustrating the Roman dependency on the creative genius of the Greeks. Of the latter the Museum is fortunate in owning an exceptionally choice number of examples. Such are the charming statue of a "Camillus," a boy who assisted at religious ceremonies; an image of Kybele, the great nature goddess on its processional car drawn by two lions; and a number of portraits. As is well known, portraiture was the branch of artistic activity in which the Romans most distinguished themselves. A splendid example is the bust of a man, bequeathed to the Museum by Benjamin Altman, and exhibited with the Altman Collection. The small bust of a bearded man of the second century A.D. is another noteworthy specimen, full of character and individuality; while the colossal statue of the Emperor Trebonianus Gallus,

though artistically of less merit, is a valuable possession considering the great rarity of ancient bronze statues.

With regard to the technique of the statues and statuettes just described, they are all cast, either solid or hollow. The earliest bronze statues of the Greeks were apparently made by hammering bronze into thin plates which were joined by rivets; but this method was soon abandoned in favor of casting, the hammering technique being retained, however, for producing bronze vessels. In casting the Greeks used the so-called *cire-perdu* process, which is still employed in a modified form at the present day as giving better results than the method of casting from sand moulds. The process is complicated and requires much dexterity and experience before satisfactory results can be reached; for though the idea of modelling the required object in wax and then replacing the melted wax with molten bronze is simple enough, the nature of bronze, which cools very quickly, makes it a hazardous proceeding.

Besides these sculptural works the Museum collection is especially rich in utensils and implements of all periods, ranging from the Early Bronze Age (about 3000 to 2000 B.C.) to Roman times. Many are of great beauty both in form and decorations and illustrate better perhaps than anything else how widespread was the artistic sense among the ancients. The utensils include objects of every description. There are vases and kitchen implements, such as ladles, colanders, tongs, and grates; toilet articles and personal ornaments; parts of furniture; lamps and lampstands; tools; a large selection of arms and armor; as well as weighing implements, writing material, surgical and musical instruments, and so forth. In looking at these objects, some of surprisingly modern shapes, it requires but little imagination to picture to ourselves the Greeks and Romans, not as far-off peoples, with whom we can have but little communion, but as human beings with the same needs and much the same activities as ourselves.

ADOLPHE MONTICELLI : 1824—1866 : BY ELIOT CLARK

FANCIFUL and imaginative as are the pictures of Monticelli, we nevertheless see in them something that is essentially real.

This is the intimate relation between the painter and the picture. Art is significant not alone as a record of nature, but as a record of human nature. Although he had a religious respect for the old masters, particularly the Venetians, Rubens, Rembrandt and Watteau, and was a great admirer of his contemporaries Delacroix, Corot, Rousseau and Diaz, these painters simply helped him to find himself. He saw himself in them.

Born in Marseilles in 1824, of Italian parents, Monticelli was a true child of the South. Not in any sense metaphysical or analytical, he abandoned himself completely to his instincts and temperament. As a youth he had a passion for music and played the violoncello well. It is very natural, in consequence, to expect his absorbing interest in paint to be in the realm of color. The two senses are interchangeable. He played with color as a musician plays with chords, and created phantasies with sheer delight in design, rhythm and harmonious juxtaposition of shapes and colors. These were his toys. He never ceased to be amused by them. The singing and the song went along simultaneously.

Monticelli was a true Romanticist. We see the pictures of our painter already painted, in himself personified. A *bon viveur*, he ate heartily and drank heavily; gloried in rich-colored velours, which he wore with pride and delight; loved and was beloved; painted fluently and rapidly, sold his pictures and spent his money. When the War of 1870 broke out, Monticelli was penniless. He took to the road, and, wandering from town to town, painting pictures for his fare, he at last arrived in Marseilles. The court of France fell and was no more; the new France emerged from blood and battle, from defeat and sedition; but Monticelli went on dreaming of silks and satins, of court and courtiers, of the entrancing charm of women and the fragrance of the rose.

It is useless to conjecture what might have been the career of our painter, so full of future promise, had not the War of 1870 sent him south; but it is quite certain that, being away from artists and artistic associations, from professional competition and criticism,



Fig. 1. ADOLPHE MONTICELLI: LANDSCAPE WITH FIGURES.
Collection of Mrs. Charles H. Senff, New York.



Fig. 2. ADOLPHE MONTICELLI: DECORATIVE GROUP.
Collection of Mrs. Charles H. Senff, New York.



far from the flattery and whim of a fickle and uncertain audience, his personal genius became intensified and burned to white heat. He did not add to his potential possibilities, he developed no further, he simply ripened and unfolded like a flower.

When the Barbizon painters came into their own and won popular applause, as well as the appreciation of their fellow artists, Monticelli was forgotten. In his early days his work had been much admired by these painters, and he had also won official patronage (Napoleon III. having bought two of his canvases); but when, utterly disregarding of public approval and official recognition, he lost himself in his own fancies and visions in the South, the world willingly forgot him. In 1874 he said to his friend, Charles Faure, whose portrait he was at that time painting: "Je peins pour dans trente ans." The remark was strangely prophetic. When at the Paris Centennial of 1900 the pictures of Monticelli were hung with those of Diaz, he received his first popular recognition, and his name was thereafter written in the illustrious list of immortals.

Long before this time, however, artists and appreciative amateurs had treasured his canvases, and many of his finest pictures found admiring friends in America. Daniel Cottier, whose passion for rich color and the charm of design had naturally attracted him to the work of Monticelli, introduced many of his pictures to England and America, where they found a ready and increasing favor and patronage. The rich, sensuous effect of his pictures found an appeal to a people less subject to the tyranny of form than the French, and more responsive to romantic emotion. Thus one can see and study the works of the master, perhaps to better advantage outside of his native country.

One of the most important of his pictures, and, in fact, one of the few large canvases which the master painted, *La Cour de Henri Trois*, was seen last year in the Griscom Collection. It shows the full power of Monticelli as a great decorator, akin to the magnificent art of the Venetians. Color and design being the very soul of Monticelli, it is quite natural that his expression should lend itself to large surfaces, and it seems cause for great regret that he had not an opportunity of expressing himself on a larger scale. The pictures of his best period, 1868-1876 (*la belle manière*), show an architectonic sense of arrangement, a deliberate and just

division of spaces, a careful consideration of rhythm and balance, and an instinctive and sensitive appreciation of color.

But if most of his pictures are small in size they suggest large areas, which is simply to say that they are pregnant with the creative element of art. The panel entitled *The Garden of Love* (Fig. 4) is only fifteen by twenty-three inches, but it shows the power of the master in concentrating his design in so little space. His art is purely synthetical. The figures, the landscape and accessories are the machinery, the facts to be used not merely for their own significance, but through their arrangement and relation as shapes and colors, to create the pictorial pattern and thus produce the psychological effect, the emotional mood. Against a background of warm middle tone he builds his design with light vibrating contrasts and dark resonant accents, creating his rhythm and balance as surely and synthetically as a musician his melody and counterpoint. His figures live and move not as flesh, but as pulsating parts of the picture, as units of a supreme unity, significant only in their interrelation and response. Monticelli seldom expressed the sensual through the imitation of flesh and form, the illusion of a particular person, but no painter has ever expressed more completely the radiant, languishing charm of women, luxurious and idle.

Some very charming Monticellis are in the collection of Mrs. Charles H. Senff. Here we see the painter as a pure *improvisateur*, capricious and fascinating. The color is bold and bizarre, the pigment applied in heavy impasto, the forms merely suggested. Diaz would seem a little soft and over-refined in this company. It is the ultimate Monticelli. Freed from professional criticism and popular comment, he gave himself completely to the intoxication of the moment, the passion of playing with color. The fundamental structure of the picture complete, as we see it in the arrangement of his forms and colors, the picture was for him finished. To carry it on further would be merely to overfinish it, a tedious and laborious work. A painter of lesser genius would needs make more use of his less frequent pictorial vision, but Monticelli had a marvelous and fertile imagination—one composition followed another with astonishing rapidity. The joy was in the creating. He could improvise on canvas as a musician on his instrument. True, his *mise en scène* is often similar, the *dramatis personæ* of his little tableaux are introduced to us again and again, but despite this meager material,

we are entranced by each new scene. And the reason is clear, for the painter was not thinking of the intellectual import of the picture, of the characters represented, the poetical charm of the setting, but he saw in them only the forms on which to set his color, the possibilities for design. Thus the quality of a dress as a fabric has for him little interest, or, in fact, the form underneath it, but if it gives him an opportunity of introducing a beautiful note of gold or red, it becomes a living part of the picture. The little children in the Decorative Group (Fig. 2) are not particularly interesting as children, they do not exist as children, but how wonderfully and instinctively placed as elements in the design, in creating a beautiful *bouquet de tons*. The hair of the child on the left is an intense orange, but how exquisite in contrast to the blue of the gown which forms its background. The design has the charm of an Oriental arabesque, but it has more—a quality which associates the art of Monticelli inseparably with the West—this is the charm of light. Monticelli is a master of chiaroscuro, a descendant of Rembrandt, Rubens and Watteau. Invariably his figures are bathed in the fascinating and subtle effect of light. Not true, if you will, but before Monticelli one does not challenge truth. He creates for us an illusion of his own illusion, for he is a master; he has the power of making us live in his own truths; he uses truth but to charm us.

The composition of the Landscape with Figures (Fig. 1) shows a perfect sense of decorative balance. If it is somewhat symmetrical, it does not savor in the least of the merely conventional. The central part of the picture is static, formed by an upright group of trees which are reflected in a circular pool below and repeated by the upright figure in blue. On either side radiate dark tree-trunks under which are reclining figures in harmonious attitudes. The color suggests Titian. The background of the trees is a deep variegated brown, through which is seen the golden note of the sky and the distant hills of a blue often seen in the pictures of the great Venetian. The color arrangement of the figures is quite deliberate, suggesting a beautiful melodic rhythm in music. On the left is a figure in blue, repeating the color of the distance; this is followed by the figures in orange-red, orange-red and yellow; then we have these colors repeated in the same order; the blue of the figure in the center, orange-red, orange-red and yellow. Although quite simple when analyzed, this schematic arrangement produces a most subtle

and harmonious effect, illustrating the purely creative use of color in the hands of a master.

The tones in which Monticelli worked most frequently are found in the middle register, and it is in this section of the chromatic sequence that the colors are most potent and brilliant. His palette was quite elaborate, and he was always prodigal with his pigment. It is said that he used twenty-four colors. This is quite likely, for he intermixed his colors very little, in the later period of his work often dispensing with brushes entirely and applying the paint with the palette knife or squeezing the paint from the tube directly on the canvas, modeling the form with his fingers. He was a magician with paint, and proudly asserted that he had discovered the secrets of the great Venetians. But in his later work he became careless and seldom applied himself to the laborious effort of the indirect method of painting, being content with small panels which he painted at one sitting and sold for his next day's needs.

Nevertheless we see some beautiful improvisations from his brush at this period. What marvelous imagery we see in the arabesque entitled *The Banquet* (Fig. 3). The figures have melted into thin air, the material forms have vanished. It is but a dream of life. But is not the vision often more vivid than the reality, and the realization but a vision? Distance has added charm to memory, time stands still in the intoxicating thralldom of the dream, Monticelli lives in the mountains of the sky, the lofty peaks which spell his name. It is the pictures of this late period of which Mr. Henley was thinking when he wrote: "Their parallel in literature is the verse that one reads for the sound's sake only—in which there is rhythm, color, music, everything but meaning."

The later life of Monticelli looms in pathetic contrast to the early days so full of joyous audacity and romantic charm. The external world ceased to exist. He became completely lost in his own illusions. Absinthe hastened the end. He lived alone and worked indefatigably. His little room was furnished only with his easel, two chairs and a low bed. But does a room exist more in its furniture than in the life which inhabits it? With Monticelli the hovel became a palace. The air was enchanted. Over the window was hung a red curtain. The bright sunlight bathed the room in a warm, exquisite reddish glow. So with the painter: the curious alchemy



Fig. 3. ADOLPHE MONTICELLI: THE BANQUET.
Collection of Robert W. Reford, Montreal.



Fig. 4. ADOLPHE MONTICELLI: THE GARDEN OF LOVE.
Property of Wallis and Son, London.



of the brain had transformed the golden rays into something new and strange, yet surpassingly beautiful.

He had said to a friend: "I allow myself the luxury of laying down fine notes: a rich yellow and a velvet black give me my supreme joy." He was indeed rich in his poverty. "Par lui aperçus, les fruits sont plus savoureux, les fleurs plus odorantes."

MAIOLICA IN AMERICA · BY EDWIN ATLEE BARBER

SINCE it has been customary to consider maiolica as essentially a product of the Italian *botteghe*, it apparently did not occur to any writer, until quite recently, to consider the possibility of an extension of the manufacture to the Western Hemisphere. The use of tin, in combination with oxide of lead, for glazing pottery, however, was a Saracenic invention, which was introduced into Spain before the art had found a foothold in Italy. A ceramic chart of the world, based on the latest discoveries, would show that the employment of stanniferous enamel was for a long time confined to a comparatively small part of the earth's surface and that it gradually spread through Morocco to Spain and from there throughout much of Europe. Recent investigations have brought out the fact that true tin-glazed pottery, or maiolica, was also produced in North America before the close of the sixteenth century, very soon after the conquest and settlement of Mexico by the Spanish invaders.

References to glazed pottery in Mexico are frequently found in the writings of the early Spanish chroniclers. The historian Mendieta, who wrote between 1580 and 1596, informs us that among the Mexicans "there were artisans in pottery and clay vessels for eating and drinking purposes, and these were very well made and colored, although the workmen did not know how to glaze them. But they soon learned that from the first craftsman who came over from Spain, in spite of all he could do to guard and hide the secret." From this and similar statements of other contemporary writers, we learn that glazed pottery had commenced to take the place of the unglazed earthenware of the Mexican Indians previous to the year 1596. The Spanish recorders, however, not being versed in

chemistry or familiar with the processes of manufacture, furnish no information as to the nature of the wares produced during the centuries following the Conquest. The establishment of a Potters' Guild in the city of Puebla de los Angeles, however, in the year 1653, and the formulation of a code of laws for the regulation of the manufacture of pottery and the guidance of master potters would indicate that great progress had already been made in the development of this industry. From these laws, which are preserved in the archives of Puebla, it appears that the wares were glazed with lead and tin, in varying proportions, according to the different grades, and that two distinct styles of decoration were then recognized, one in imitation of the maiolica of Talavera, Spain, the other in simulation of the porcelain of China. These two divergent methods of treatment were developed under two distinct influences. The potters who established the art of glazing in Mexico went there from Talavera and introduced the Spanish shapes, such as the albarello, or drug jar, the barrel-shaped jardinière, the square tile and various decorative motives, such as figures of hares, squirrels, birds and other animals, mosques, figures of men and saints, chariots and horses. This Hispanic style, which first came into vogue in Mexico in the sixteenth century and continued throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth, was followed by the Oriental about the middle of the seventeenth, as shown by the records of the Guild, where it is specified that "in making the fine wares the coloring should be *in imitation of the Chinese ware*, very blue, finished in the same style and with relief-work in blue." The introduction of Oriental shapes and decorations was the result of the extensive importation of Chinese porcelains by the wealthy Mexicans of the period and the efforts of the Pueblan potters to imitate them. In point of fact, other influences, in addition to those referred to in the rules of the Guild, were at work in molding a national ceramic art.

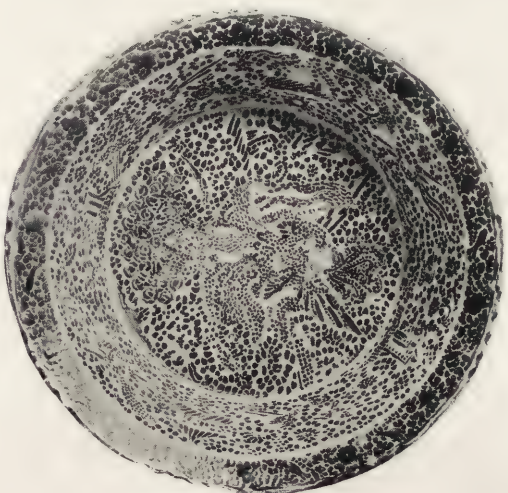
The maiolica of Mexico, as we know it to-day, is a composite ware, the result of a combination of four distinct sources of inspiration. The first Spanish potters brought with them traditions of an older art—the Moresque—which revealed itself in some of their earlier work in New Spain. Among the first products of the Mexican maiolists are pieces which reveal a marked Moresque or Hispano-Moresque feeling, of which a lavabo, or laver, from the lavatory of an ancient convent, is a striking example. The decora-



LARGE LAYER OF MEXICAN MAIOLICA.
Blue and black decoration in Moresque style,
Puebla, Mexico. About 1650.
*Mrs. Robert W. de Forest Collection, Metropolitan
Museum of Art, New York.*



MEXICAN MAIOLICA VASE (height,
18 inches).
Blue decoration in Chinese style.
About 1660.
Hispanic Society of America, New York.



LAYER OF MEXICAN MAIOLICA
(25 inches).
Blue decoration in Spanish style, Saint
Michael. About 1680.
Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia.

tion consists of strap-work and loop-work in heavy raised blue enamel, outlined with black. The peculiarity of this bowl is the inscription which extends around the rim: "Soy para labar los (Sac)-ryfycadores y no mas" (I am for washing the sacrificers and for no other purpose). In many of the early churches, convents and monasteries, lavatories, usually furnished with three large basins, were provided for priestly ablutions. A similar, but more elaborately decorated example, from the old convent at Atlixco, is in the Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia.

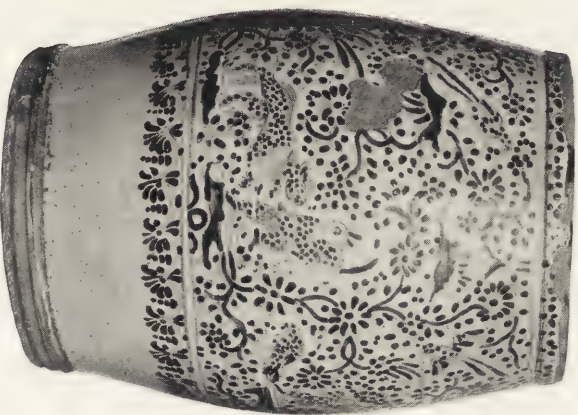
The Aztec influence was also apparent in the artistic ambitions of the first Indian pupils of the Spanish potters. When upon these three diverse sources of inspiration the Oriental was grafted, the result, after three centuries of amalgamation, was a Moresque-Hispano-Aztec-Sinico combination of forms and decorations. Two or more of these distinct styles were often combined in a single piece, and at one period, in the seventeenth century, there was frequently an overloading of ornament, in which Chinese, Mexican and Spanish motives were mingled in meaningless confusion. But we also find many fine examples of ware in which the purity of a single style is preserved alone.

The ancient maiolica of Mexico is so distinctive and so different from anything produced elsewhere that it can readily be recognized wherever met with. It may be divided into two classes—that with blue decorations and that which is painted in polychrome. The former, and earlier, group may be known by the marked individuality of the forms and the peculiarities of technique, the blue color having been so thickly applied that it stands out in perceptible relief. This is also the case, but in lesser degree, with some of the other colors, as the yellows and occasionally the greens. The painting of Spanish maiolica, on the other hand, was always done in thin flat colors.

It is not known just when polychrome painting on maiolica was first attempted in Mexico. The palette of the Mexican maiolist must have included several pigments, other than dark blue, previous to the middle of the eighteenth century, since tile-work, painted in yellow, light blue, brown, green, and orange, has been found on the exterior and interior walls of some of the churches of that period. The colors employed previous to the opening of the nineteenth cen-

tury correspond almost exactly with those found on the contemporary maiolica of Talavera, Spain.

There seems to be no evidence that the manufacture of maiolica in New Spain ever spread beyond the city of Puebla. The local potteries, of which there were probably as many as thirty, during the best period of the art, occupied a place somewhere between the local potteries of the American Colonies and the *botteghe*, or artist's workshops, of the Italian maiolists. The early Mexican maiolica painter confined his efforts to work of a purely decorative character. His painting, particularly that in blue, was bold and vigorous and occasionally possessed elements of surprising strength and beauty in the arrangement of geometrical and conventional effects. He never aspired to the more ambitious but effeminate *istoriato* style of the Urbino artists. His conceptions were childlike in their simplicity and their execution was often marked by a charmingly naïve crudeness of technique. The vastness of his surroundings, at an altitude of over seven thousand feet, with the wonderful snow-capped volcano of Popocatepetl rising from the plain another ten thousand feet, apparently at his very threshold, undoubtedly exercised a powerful influence in developing a breadth and freedom of treatment in his work, and inspired him to create those enormous fountains, gigantic vessels, and tile patterns covering great mural surfaces in churches and convents, in which the southern part of Mexico abounds. Some of these structures were completely encrusted with glazed tile-work, modeled and painted in attractive and often intricate designs. Figures of saints in miniature contributed to the striking embellishment of ridge-tiles and parapets, while the façades were frequently covered with painted tile panels of large size. This vigorous fictile ornamentation was well suited to the various styles of architecture which were introduced throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, notably the Mudéjar, the Spanish Renaissance, and the Churrigueresque, whose florid exuberance required the touch of color and the intricacy of painted designs to relieve the monotony of the otherwise plain broken surfaces. The interiors of churches, convents, and other religious foundations were likewise embellished with glazed tile-work. Holy water fonts of elaborate design were set in the walls and huge lavabos were constructed for the ablutions of the clergy. In the surrounding grounds, cisterns were walled in with tile-covered masonry, while great jars and jar-



LARGE FLOWER-POT.
Spanish in form, decoration in Chinese style. 1650-1700.



MAIOLICA TILE PANEL (32x36 inches)
Painted in polychrome, with double-headed, crowned eagle of the Austrian Dynasty. Eighth-teenth century.



VANILLA JAR WITH IRON LOCK.
Shape and decoration in Chinese style.



dinières of painted maiolica were lavishly provided for flowers and growing plants. The output of the maiolica factories was enormous. Articles of all sorts for household use and decoration were turned out in such abundance that the height of manufacture, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, might properly be known as the Maiolica Age.

As the sacerdotal orders were the principal supporters of the art during their establishment in New Spain, it follows that when the extension of the Church in Mexico was checked and its influence began to decline, the tile industry commenced to languish. The building of ecclesiastical structures practically ceased and the maiolica industry gradually fell into decay.

Lustering was apparently never attempted by the Mexican maiolists, probably for the reason that the potters who went to Mexico from Spain had learned their art in Talavera and in Seville, where metallic luster painting was never developed to that high degree of perfection which was reached by the Hispano-Moresco ceramists of Malaga and Valencia in Spain, and the artists at Gubbio, and to a lesser extent, perhaps, at Pesaro and Diruta in Italy.

There are evidences that reciprocal trading was carried on between Mexico and Spain during the eighteenth century, if not at an earlier period. Many examples of Talavera maiolica from Spain have been found in Mexico, while numerous specimens of the unglazed pottery made by the Indians of Guadalajara have been discovered in Spain. Examples of lustered pottery from Valencia and other Spanish centers have occasionally been found in Mexico, but these exceptional pieces do not appear to have exerted any influence upon the art of the Mexican potters. The mysteries of metallic lustering were apparently never penetrated by the Pueblan artisans.

The collection of Mexican maiolica formed by Mrs. Robert W. de Forest and presented by her to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and that gathered together in Mexico by the writer and now exhibited in the Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia, are the two most important collections of the kind accessible to students.

A TERRACOTTA BAMBINO BY DESIDERIO · BY PHILA
CALDER NYE

PROFESSOR ALLAN MARQUAND, of Princeton, N. J., has in his possession a terracotta *Bambino* which he purchased in Rome some years ago (Fig. 1). The Child lies at ease on his back, with legs and arms slightly bent, his chubby fingers lightly closed, and head partly turned toward the right. The general proportions determine his age as about eight months.

This *Bambino* evidently belonged to a group for a *Presepio* or Nativity, designed to be shown in a church during the Christmas season. Such groups were common in Italy from the time of St. Francis of Assisi, who, with the permission of the Pope, instituted the custom in order to bring the story of the Christ-child to the minds of the people. Few, if any, remain of the thirteenth century representations, but we have some examples from the fourteenth, and more from the fifteenth century. Of the latter, the Metropolitan Museum possesses a fine example by Antonio Rossellino. The Marquand *Bambino* is also a work of the Florentine school, and was probably executed after 1450.

During this period of the Renaissance the study of child anatomy and proportion reached a great height. Donatello, in his *putti* and winged cherubs, opened up a new field, limitless as the expressions and attitudes of the children from whom he drew his inspiration. Luca della Robbia went a step further. Instead of the romping children who wreath the Cantoria of Donatello, make music for us around the Paduan altar, dance to their own piping at Prato, or serve to soften the gruesome spectacle of the beheaded Holofernes as they draw our eyes to their joyous gambols around the base of the Judith group, Luca portrayed the real Babe in his mother's arms, or lying at ease for her adoration. In many cases Luca read a prophetic character into the child-body, as if to suggest the coming tragedy or the crowning glory, to be obtained through immeasurable suffering. The followers of Luca brought out individual qualities in their representations of childhood, made a close study of form and proportion, and left to us real, lovable babies in imperishable materials.

Desiderio, inspired by the teachings of Donatello, and having Luca's productions before him, became a happy portrayer of the



Fig. 2. DESIDERIO: REGGISTEMMA.
Marsuppini Tomb.



Fig. 3. DESIDERIO: CHRIST-CHILD.
Tabernacle of San Lorenzo.



Fig. 1. DESIDERIO: BAMBINO.
Collection of Allan Marquand, Princeton.

charms of childhood. Though lacking the vitality of Donatello, he added to the study of the child a delicacy and charm which made him most truly the sculptor of infancy. Antonio Rossellino, although somewhat variable, produced many charming examples of child life, although he failed at times in the scale of his proportions.

Benedetto da Majano's happy babies fill us with joy before we are aware with what scanty knowledge of structure did he mold these adorable bits of humanity. He depended for the general effect upon rounded forms and soft curves to give a vivid idea of childhood. Verrocchio, in spite of his careful attention to structure, at times misapplied his knowledge and gave softly rounded legs and arms to a child old enough to run and play. That is why the *Putto* of the Dreyfus Collection seems untrue to life. Bearing in mind these general differences in the child-form as portrayed by these several masters, we should look for more specific characters which will serve to show whether we may attribute our *Bambino* to one of these masters, or if we must vaguely relegate it to some general school. Such an examination would show that Rossellino, Benedetto and Verrocchio may be set aside, but that in the works of Desiderio there are some marked likenesses worthy of our strictest attention.

Consider particularly the *Reggistemmi* (Fig. 2) of the Marsuppini Tomb, and the Christ-child who crowns the Tabernacle of San Lorenzo (Fig. 3). The first are children of three or four years, the second a child of more than two years. Between these and the Marquand *Bambino* there is a significant resemblance in the shape of the heads, the use of clear-cut lines around the eyes, the slight projections between the corners of the eyes and the ears, and the treatment of the hair. The outlines of the forehead, the definite, well-proportioned nose, the pointed upper and slightly receding lower lip, and the decided chin are strikingly alike. Again, the softly rounded cheeks of the *Bambino* melt into the curves of the throat with the same delightful lines as in the *Reggistemmi* and the Christ-child. If the comparison should be carried further, we might indicate a striking similarity in the modeling of arms and hands, chest and abdomen, legs and feet.

We thus find marked resemblances to the work of Desiderio, but the question remains: Shall we assign the work to the master himself, or merely to his *bottega*? In view of the perfection of the

modeling we decide unhesitatingly in favor of the master, whose characteristic handling is seen so strongly in every detail.

Possibly a consideration of the order of production of the S. Lorenzo Tabernacle and the Marsuppini Tomb may throw some light on the subject. Carlo Marsuppini died in 1453, and his tomb was completed by 1455. The S. Lorenzo Tabernacle dates from about 1460. When we compare these two works, we find that the *Reggistemmi* show comparatively little modeling. On the other hand, the Christ-child's rounded form is full of light and shade. Not only in this statue, but in the two adoring cherubs flanking it, we see the result of Desiderio's observation of the difference in proportion and modeling required to give the impression of a more infantile subject. Also we note the improvement in technique in the later examples. If there is such a marked advance in the elaboration of detail in the S. Lorenzo examples, showing a decided evidence that the artist recognized the necessary changes due to the presentation of a subject of more tender years, it is quite reasonable to believe that, after he had finished the Tabernacle, he could take another step forward and produce our carefully modeled *Bambino*. Thus we may safely conclude that Desiderio himself was the author of the Marquand *Bambino* and that he made it after the S. Lorenzo Tabernacle (1460) and not long before his death in 1464. It is an example of his complete mastery of a much-loved phase of his work—the presentation of little children.

AN EARLY ITALIAN PICTURE IN THE FOGG MUSEUM IN CAMBRIDGE · BY OSVALD SIRÉN

THE Fogg Museum in Cambridge affords especial interest in that it contains several fascinating problems particularly among the early Italian pictures. It offers excellent opportunities for students who have some experience in the field of Italian art and who care for establishing proper order and names in the history of art.

Not long ago I discussed one of the earliest paintings in the collection, a little panel from Orcagna's workshop executed by his brother, Jacopo di Cione, and now I will add a few words about another small picture which also hitherto has remained without



Fig. 1. VIRGIN AND CHILD.
*Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge,
Mass.*



Fig. 2. THE ANNUNCIATION.
*Collection of Sir Hubert Parry, Highnam Court,
Gloucester, Eng.*



Fig. 3. CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN.
*Gallery of the Ospedale degli Innocenti,
Florence, Italy.*

/

attribution. It is a painting of an exquisite *finesse*, almost like a miniature in technique, and of very delicate design.

The central motive is the Holy Virgin with the Child (Fig. 1) enthroned in a niche which opens with small round arches against the golden ground. The Boy is playing with a bird which is tied by a string, and he looks smilingly up to his mother as if to call her attention to this living plaything. To the right of the Madonna stands St. Peter Martyr and to the left St. Francis. Below this central group are represented on a smaller scale the Visitation and the Nativity, and above it, on the pediments, under an ogee-arch, the Annunciation. All the figures are very slender, wearing mantles which fall in close parallel folds. The standing friars have almost a likeness to fluted columns. The mantle of the floating angel ends in fluttering swirls, and the edge of the Virgin's mantle forms regular waves on the ground. This very elaborate and effective mode of draping connects the picture evidently with the art of Don Lorenzo Monaco. But there are other influences to be discerned. The master is not simply a follower of the monk of Camaldoli; he has also seen the more realistic art of Masolino and Masaccio, possibly even that of the young Fra Filippo. This new style-current of the awakening Renaissance is perhaps not so easily traceable in the Cambridge picture as in other works of the same hand.

We have as yet not been able to discover more than two other pictures by the same master. The one is a most charming little Annunciation (Fig. 2) in the collection of Sir Herbert Parry at Highnam Court, Gloucester; the other is a Coronation of the Virgin (Fig. 3) in the gallery of the Ospedale degli Innocenti in Florence. As this last-named is the largest and most important creation by our master known to us, we propose to give him the temporary name of the "*Master of the Innocenti Coronation*." So he will become easiest known because the Innocenti picture is also the easiest accessible.

The identity will become evident to anyone who takes the trouble to compare carefully the three illustrations. The very characteristic treatment of the folds is most evident in the Highnam Court Annunciation, which is a direct counterpart of the same representation on the pediment of the Cambridge picture. The Virgin is the same frail and dainty girl with the same shock of curly hair on a high forehead as we see her on the crowning piece of the panel in the Fogg Museum; the position of her hands and her movements are

also identical. Very closely related are also the angels, though their positions are somewhat varied. But the composition of the Highnam Court panel is amplified by the erection of a porch opening into the Virgin's bedroom and an arched wall through which we get a view into the blooming garden. The whole representation has already a touch of that intimate feeling for nature which charms us in Fra Filippo's Annunciations, and here is a deliberate attempt to create some depth by means of architectural accessories. (The arches of the wall are exactly the same as those of the Virgin's throne in the Cambridge picture.) At the same time we can hardly take the master's attempt in the direction of modern spatial composition very seriously, his own feeling is so entirely naïve. Painting seems to be to him more of a symbolic expression in lines and curves than a severe representation of flesh and blood in human form. He is a poet, and his visions are imbued with an imaginative spirit sometimes bordering on lyric mysticism.

Thus we find, for instance, that the Coronation of the Virgin in the Innocenti is not simply accompanied by the usual *mandorla* of cherubs, but below are given symbolic representations of the Conquest of Vice, St. Michael fighting the Dragon, and of the Redemption, and the Ascension of St. Mary of Egypt. These additional figures, the very dainty archangel in fluttering mantle and the ascetic woman clad only in her long wavelike hair, are most significant of the master's style and spirit. The angel we already know from the two Annunciations; the St. Mary recalls, in type, the other ascetic, St. Francis, of the Cambridge picture. Both have that touch of dream-like vision which is felt easier than described in the works of this winning master. Somewhat more real, with a more plastic rendering of the bodies, are the Virgin and Christ. They recall Masolino's early works, and the whole picture is an evident example of the master's transitional character. He is a *retardataire*, somewhat "after his time," when the standard is set by Masolino and Masaccio, but certainly one of the most sincere and refined artists of that period. The extreme rarity of his works gives an additional interest to the little picture in the Fogg Museum.

We may hope that the real name of this very characteristic painter will some day be revealed by a signed picture. Until then the temporary name of the "*Master of the Innocenti Coronation*" may do good service.





Fig. 1. VENETIAN SCHOOL (c: 1400): TRIPTYCH.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.



Fig. 2. CATERINO: TRIPTYCH.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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VENETIAN PAINTINGS IN THE UNITED STATES: I BY BERNHARD BERENSON

IT is my intention to survey in these articles the paintings by Venetian Masters that I have seen in our home collections. No claim can be made to completeness. There are probably treasures unknown to me even in the few great Eastern cities that I frequent, while, as for the interior, my acquaintance with it is confined to a fleeting glimpse of Chicago and Cleveland many years ago. One hears of Rembrandts stalking across the prairies and climbing the Rockies, and of Velasquez invading the West supported by innumerable Grecos, but so far, I have come upon no trace of a single Italian picture of the first order having found a home across the Alleghanies.

Even our East possesses few Italian masterpieces. The Metropolitan Museum of New York and the Museum of Boston, where we might first have expected to find them, are virtually precluded by the constitution and policy of their governing bodies from acquiring great works of art, unless they fall in as gifts. Our private collections, save in a few instances, are of too recent a date to be comparable with those in Europe.

And yet a good start has been made. It is fair to remember that, extensive though the interest in Italian painting has been, scarce a dozen of its enthusiasts could afford to acquire the greatest or even the least works of art. Thus masterpieces are rare; although, in fact, we already possess a number which is surprisingly high considering the circumstances. On the other hand, few of the better known artists are entirely unrepresented. It is already possible for the student whose travels carry him no further north than Boston, no further south than Washington, and no further west than Detroit and Cleveland, to frame for himself, after inspecting original

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specimens, an idea of the evolution and even of the value of Italian painting not too inaccurate and not altogether inadequate.

The following articles have chiefly this type of student in view, and the treatment will accordingly be historical.

I.

No history of Venice yet written—not even Mr. Horatio Brown's evocative and illuminating study—conveys half so vividly as does a glance at Venetian painting, the sense of how isolated, during the fourteenth century, was the Republic of the Lagoons from the remainder of Italy. Thus, Giotto labored for years in Padua, the nearest town on the mainland, and his activity there quickly altered the typography, so to speak, as well as the technique of the painter's art throughout the whole of Northern Italy. In Venice alone it took decades before a clear trace of his influence began to appear. And this, when it came, was almost entirely confined to such general elements as shape and composition, while the substance, the craft, the technique, remained imperturbably Byzantine. The green underpainting, the profuse gilding, the effects of lacquer or enamel, suffered no change worth mentioning before the revolution started by Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello and achieved by their pupil and follower, Jacopo Bellini. This revolution, we may note in passing, followed the conquest of Padua in 1405 and the initiation of that continental policy which rapidly turned Venice into a great Italian power. Even then, the Vivarinis and their spiritual kin retained a great deal of Byzantinism in their art, and the last of them, Alvise, betrays its continued hold upon him not only in his harder, more polished surfaces, but in his failure to assimilate the new composition and even the new lighting.

These paintings of the fourteenth century and those of the fifteenth which were least affected by the Bellinesque innovation, will form the subject of the first of this series of articles.

II.

We begin with the signed work of Caterino in the collection of Mr. Henry Walters of Baltimore (Fig. 2), which has been reproduced and minutely described by Prof. Laudedeo Testi in the first volume of his very compendious and most learned "*Storia della*

Pittura Veneziana" (p. 244). Its reproduction dispenses us from a minute description. The same authority (*ibid.*, p. 237) tells us that Caterino was known to be active between 1362 and 1382. He was, in fact, one of the prominent painters in the Venice of that time. A glance at Mr. Walter's Polyptych will suffice to inform us that painting in Venice during the decades just mentioned was still playing the same subordinated and modest role that it seems to have taken in the Mediæval Greek world. The general effect of type and color and surface is overwhelmingly Byzantine, and the technique almost wholly so. The Madonna manifests signs of Giottesque influence, coming, however, not directly from Giotto himself at the neighboring Padua, but indirectly through his Romagnol followers at Rimini and its coasts. The few miles of land travel proved so efficient a barrier, before the conquest of Padua and the consequent closer communications, that all the Italianism recognizable in Venice till after 1400 came thither by the sea. As the Madonna in this picture is so much more Italian than any other of Caterino's known works, we may safely regard it as the latest we possess.

Venetian paintings dating from before the Renaissance are so rare that we must not disdain a small Triptych (Fig. 1) in the same collection of Mr. Walters at Baltimore, mediocre enough intrinsically, but with some of the attractiveness of old icons, and not devoid of interest. In the central panel we see Our Lady seated on a flowered hillock, with the Child eagerly clinging to her. Above is the Crucifixion. In the right panel we have the Virgin Annunciate over St. James, in his turn over St. Margaret; and in the left, the Angel of the Annunciation over the Baptist and St. Catherine. The ground, of course, is gold; the enamel-like technique is still Byzantine. The florid pinnacles, combined with a return to round arches, enable us at once to date this modest achievement as of about 1400. Who its author may have been, I have no idea, except that he undoubtedly was a Venetian. The Angel Gabriel recalls both of Lorenzo Veneziano's angels in the Venice Academy (Nos. 9 and 10). The Madonna, on the other hand, is distinctly of Bologna-Marchigian origin, seated as she is on a hillock with rays emanating from her and stars all about her—a motive recurring in the dazzlingly decorative panels of Andrea da Bologna and Francescuccio Ghisi at Pausula, Fermo and Ascoli. I suspect, by the way, that this motive of the Madonna sitting low, destined to become al-

most universal toward 1400, was invented in Bologna decades earlier. Our painter would seem to have had direct contact with the source, for had he got it from such a model as Giovanni da Bologna's panel now in the Venice Academy (No. 17), he would, like that, have omitted the stars.

Passing over a rougher work more in the manner of that embogged Byzantinist, Semitecolo, a Madonna belonging to Mr. D. F. Platt of Englewood, N. J., we come to the only other Venetian painting of fourteenth century character that I can remember having seen in America. It is an oblong panel in the gallery of the New York Historical Society, which, many years ago, when I last saw it, had the number 183, and was ascribed to Taddeo Gaddi. Evidently a *predella*, it represented the Crucifixion, with the Blessed Virgin fainting into the arms of one of the six women surrounding her, and on the other side the soldiers dividing Our Lord's garment. At the time, the shapes, the arrangement, the color and the technique all struck me as Venetian, although under more than ordinary Italian influence. I have no photograph, and the reproduction in the Artaud de Montor Catalogue (Plate 28) is of that smoothed-out, rounded, blurred character which made connoisseurship, until quite recently, so vague and indecisive.

III.

The most interesting painter of the transition from the Greek Mediæval style to that of the Italian Renaissance is not represented anywhere in America. This was Jacobello del Fiore, who, in his sumptuous "Justice" of the Venice Academy, in his mighty "Lion" of the Doges' Palace, and in a "Madonna" in my own collection, advances upon his age to a largeness of planes and a succulence of treatment curiously like Palma's. The haphazard of saleroom, or of journalism, has caused him to be overshadowed by a painter far less gifted as an artist, and much less interesting as an historical figure, for Michele Giambono was little more than a docile imitator of Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello, and he is usually toothless, limp and woolly. His technique, based doubtless on Byzantine practice, retains, as does his color, something of the gorgeousness of the East. But as this necessarily disappears in black and white, we shall not reproduce the only fragment of his I have found in America,



Fig. 3. GIOVANNI D'ALEMAGNA AND ANTONIO VIVARINI: POLYPTYCH.
Collection of Mrs. Dr. Henry Barton Jacobs, Baltimore.



Fig. 4. STUDIO OF ANTONIO VIVARINI: ILLUSTRATION TO A ROMANCE.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.



the half length of a "Sainted Bishop" belonging to Mrs. J. L. Gardner of Boston.¹

By this time Continental influence was streaming in and softening the crust of traditional craftsmanship that lay hardened in the studios of Murano. Thither came Giovanni d'Alemagna, an adept of the Franco-Flemish School, hailing from its last great outpost, Cologne, and made an alliance with Antonio Vivarini. The pictorial practice which resulted from their partnership was destined to oppose the innovations of the Bellini with a resistance rather of inertia than of principle; and it survived long enough to addle in its shell the gift of the last man of talent affected, Lorenzo Lotto.

It is not easy to distinguish between Giovanni and Antonio, and to allot to each his share of a given undertaking, and harder still to put into words the shade of difference we may end by perceiving. On the whole, the more sentimental and smoother faces, the softer modelling, the flatter colors, are Giovanni's, while the harder heads, drier effects and more serious attempt at drawing, are Antonio's. Antonio, however, survived his partner for many years, and his paintings gradually took on more of the character described. But as he instantly called to his aid his younger brother, Bartolommeo (of which fact we are informed by the signature of the Bolognese Polyptych dated 1450, the very year of Giovanni's death), we must still remain on the look-out. Happily, confusion between the two brothers is easier to avoid, for we have ample means of knowing Bartolommeo's independent manner; and besides, this partnership does not seem to have lasted more than ten years.

An important work executed probably by Giovanni and Antonio together may be seen in the collection of Mrs. Dr. Jacobs at Baltimore (Fig. 3). It is a Polyptych in ten parts, on gold ground throughout. The central composition represents St. Michael in the act of striking down the Dragon. On each side are two Saints in full length. Above the Michael we see the Madonna and Child, and on each side two further Saints, all these figures (excepting

¹ The "Dead Christ" in the Metropolitan Museum, as well as its variant at Mr. Horace Morison's in Boston, are not by Giambono, but quite certainly by a contemporary painter from the Marches, probably from Ancona itself. He shows himself a firmer draughtsman, better painter and more magnificent colorist than the fluffy Venetian. The Metropolitan Museum version has been a bone of contention between Prof. Laudedeo Testi and Prof. L. Venturi (*Rassegna d'Arte*, June, 1911; February, 1913). Prof. Venturi is wrong in calling it a forgery, and Prof. Testi in believing it a Giambono, and in regarding the Padua version as a copy after this panel, when, as a matter of fact, it is an independent original by Giambono. I note that in the heat of controversy Prof. Testi goes so far as to distort the name of Bryson Burroughs into Brepon Burroaglio!

naturally the Child) being little more than half length. It must have been, when in better condition, a gracious and sumptuous as well as a typical creation of the first Vivarini. Michael has much of the personal beauty and decorative value of contemporary Catalan painting, and I should be inclined to regard it as more especially Giovanni's work. And so, possibly, may be the figure with the palm. All the others are more probably Antonio's. A comparison with the Polyptych at Parenzo (in Istria) dated 1440, and with the "Coronation" at S. Pantaleone in Venice dated 1444, inclines one to assign Mrs. Jacobs' work to the same period.

In the Walters Collection, also at Baltimore, there are two panels attributed to our earliest Muranese. The "Madonna" is undoubtedly an independent work of Antonio's. She sits on a flowered hillock, against a gold ground, worshipping the Child lying in her lap. The influence here is that of Gentile da Fabriano, and the quality of the picture is not unworthy of that inspiration. The action of the Child is rather better than in Gentile, but both the drawing and the color are less delicate. The other panel shows "St. Jerome" standing in his cardinal's robes against a patterned background. In one hand he holds a book, in the other a church with a round bell-tower. It is a variant of a figure relatively frequent in the paintings of the Vivarini, typical instances occurring in the S. Pantaleone "Coronation," in the great Venice Academy Triptych and in the S. Zaccaria Polyptych. It is to the St. Jerome in the last that Mr. Walters' figure comes nearest; but his panel is of a color at once more saturated and softer than I am acquainted with in the works of Giovanni and Antonio da Murano. I have therefore a certain hesitation in ascribing this impressive and attractive panel to either painter. If it be by one of them, that one is Giovanni.

Another "St. Jerome" belongs to Mr. Augustus Healy of Brooklyn, N. Y. I unfortunately remember nothing about it except that I thought it was by Antonio. To a later phase of the same painter's career belongs a full length 'St. Bernardino' in the possession of Mr. J. G. Johnson of Philadelphia. Mere mention will suffice, as I have said what I have to say about it in my Catalogue of the Italian Masters in that Collection.

Finally, there is a "Dead Christ" belonging to Mr. D. F. Platt of Englewood, N. J. He is seen against the Cross, naked from the waist up, rising out of the tomb, with His side and hands pierced.

There is quiet feeling here and depth. We may ascribe it, despite obvious faults, to Antonio in his latest years, when he painted the same subject at Osimo and at Bari. On the other hand, I feel somewhat timid about accepting as Antonio's the four panels published by Mr. F. M. Perkins in the *Rassegna d'Arte* of 1909 (p. 88). They belong to Mr. Francis L. Bacon of New York, and represent "SS. Christopher, Nicholas, James and Antony." As I am not acquainted with the originals, and as the reproduction gives me no color and no clear information as to condition, I can only say that the Nicholas and Antony may have been painted by Antonio and soon after 1440, but not the other Saints.

IV.

Compositions of a narrative character, both lay and ecclesiastical, must have abounded in Venice before 1480. Yet by an unlucky accident few of any earlier date have been preserved. All the more precious, consequently, are the few that have come down to us, and this alone should lead us to give some attention to three such paintings in the Walters Collection¹ (Figs. 4, 5, 6), even if they were intrinsically less interesting and entertaining than they are. They have, moreover, this additional interest that, since they are too large to have been chest fronts, we may imagine them to have formed chamber decorations. They thus may claim to be a rarity, since, in this kind, little even of Tuscan work has survived.

Unfortunately I am unable to interpret these pictures and say what they illustrate. I lack the necessary familiarity with the tales and romances which the later middle ages echoed from the remote past of Greece and Rome. And besides, it is not likely that the subject was exhausted in these three panels. It is probable that, forming, as it may have done, the decoration of a room, the series may have been more numerous. Even the fact that one of them is nearly ten feet wide, while the others are only eight, and may therefore have occupied a central position, gives me no clue.

Let us begin with this wider panel (Fig. 4). In the foreground of a landscape of rock and grove and wood, we see, a little to the left, an arched temple of rather Brunelleschian architecture. Within, on an elaborate pedestal, stands the statue of a naked goddess with a globe in her hand. Below are two priests, one of them wearing

¹ Published by A. Venturi in *L'Arte*, 1905, p. 225, and ascribed to the school of Piero della Francesca. Traces of Jacopo Bellini's influence in the setting entirely confirm Mr. Berenson's view that the pictures are Venetian.—EDITOR.

a high Byzantine hat. Outside are a number of ladies and gallants, all meticulously dressed in the finery and foppery fashionable toward 1465 or so: shaved foreheads and bulging head-dresses for the women, curls and ringlets for the men, and sumptuous brocades for all. The gallants, with mincing gait, are trying first to induce and then to force the ladies to embark with them in a ship anchored on the right. Its pennons bear the crescent moon. This emblem served, in the Renaissance, to indicate the presence of people who were regarded as outside the pale of Græco-Roman civilization, ancient or contemporary, of Barbarians in the classic, or of Paynims in the Christian world.

We may perhaps assume that the narrative is continued in the panel (Fig. 5) which shows a group of ladies harangued by one of their number. Have they just landed from the galleon in the offing, and is the fool in motley celebrating the event, and are the gallants going to lead them into the town of toy blocks we see to our left? If so, then the third panel (Fig. 6) shows the same ladies in the royal square of the town, with their leader kneeling at the feet of a King, while his Queen and her ladies look on.

The faces are so ugly and the drawings so indifferent, that we may fail to do justice to these decorations. Yet apart from the quaintness and amusing absurdity which appeal to us, but could never have been apparent to contemporaries, these paintings have not only considerable qualities of narration, but of arrangement and grouping as well. Evidently the painter reveled in brocades as much as the people he worked for, and one of the ladies, the one nearest the clown, has insisted on being portrayed from the back so that her gorgeous costume should be fully displayed. For us again, these paintings have the further value of revealing the ideal of the elegant and stately existence entertained by Venetians of rank and fashion during the earlier Renaissance.

I assume that these decorations are Venetian, but as I first knew them many years ago passing for Cossa's, and as they entered Mr. Walters' Collection as "School of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo," a word to substantiate my attribution may not be out of place.

I venture to believe that no one but an irresponsible amateur journalist or dealer would think of connecting these compositions with Fiorenzo, seeing they have nothing in common but their date. The ascription to Cossa, however, was not so senseless, for the ladies



Fig. 5. STUDIO OF ANTONIO VIVARINI: ILLUSTRATION TO A ROMANCE.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.



Fig. 6. STUDIO OF ANTONIO VIVARINI: ILLUSTRATION TO A ROMANCE.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

here are ugly in a way that reminds one of the faces in the Schifanoja frescoes at Ferrara. There is this difference, though, that in these Cossesque frescoes the ladies are ugly with energy, with humor and even with charm, while here they are ugly without alleviation or excuse. Moreover, the women at the Schifanoja are drawn and modeled with much vigor and mastery, while here the heads and faces are the weakest part of the work.

What we do find to be the case with the faces of the men as well as of the women in these panels, is that they all have the pinched anxious look of Antonio Vivarini in his later years. The women, being ladies of fashion, do not occur in his known paintings, for these are all ecclesiastical, but the men may be found in the S. Zaccaria Polyptychs, in that of 1464 from Pesaro now in the Vatican, and even in the much earlier "Epiphany" in Berlin, to cite conspicuous examples only. The landscape with its spur-like hills occurs in the Berlin picture too, and the bushes and flowers are notably like those in any of Antonio's paintings. The strongest link in the chain connecting these decorative compositions with Antonio Vivarini is the architecture, with its tendency to the close repetition of perpendicular elements, whether arched or square-topped. How characteristic they are of the earliest Vivarini will be recognized by everyone who has in mind the S. Pantaleone "Coronation," the Venice Academy Triptych, or, better still, the *Predelle* in the Vienna Academy with the "Story of the Passion."

It would be tedious to carry my demonstration further. I do not ascribe these paintings to Antonio himself, because I find them a little too poor in drawing, and there are such slight divergencies in type as one would expect in work designed by a master and executed by his pupils.

The date is clearly determined by the costumes as being about 1465.

SOME SCULPTURES FROM VERROCCHIO'S WORKSHOP : BY OSVALD SIRÉN

VERROCCHIO'S individual importance as an artist is more evident in his sculptures than in the paintings which are attributed to him. Not only traditional statements by Vasari and other old authors, but the whole character of his art, give us ample reason to believe that he felt himself more at ease when working in plastic material than when he used the brush. His artistic education was pre-eminently that of a goldsmith and he excelled in all kinds of artistic craftsmanship such as casting, chiseling, wood-inlaying, mechanics and so on, and even when he drew draperies it is said that he soaked the cloth in plaster so as to arrange the folds in a more sculpturesque fashion. It is the strikingly plastic, often over-emphasized, treatment of the draperies which, more than anything else, gives us the clue to Verrocchio's own creations. In this respect scarcely any of his numerous pupils quite reached the level of the master: Lorenzo di Credi developed Verrocchio's plastic draping into heavy bulkiness; Leonardo soon found a much suppler and richer mode of treatment. However, there is a basis of plastic clearness even in his draperies which he evidently inherited from the master. On the other hand, it should be stated that there were less gifted individuals working in Verrocchio's *bottega* who did their best in imitating the master's mode of draping, thereby succeeding, however, more in catching the stiffness and angularity of the folds than the palpable gravity and clearness in the rendering of the stuff. Certain well-known Madonnas in the picture galleries at Berlin and London bear witness to this.

Verrocchio's monumental terracotta Madonna in the Museo Nazionale at Florence (Fig. 1) gives us the standard of his ability in the field of Madonna representations. She holds her own place among the numerous Madonna reliefs by Florentine Quattrocento sculptors. The Virgin is a lady of dignified beauty, not shaken by the pathetic emotions of Donatello's Madonnas, nor disturbed by that somewhat restless spirit which characterizes Rossellino's fashionable Virgins, but filled with a bright and harmonious happiness as she looks at the sturdy lad who is standing before her on the cushion. The type is strong, marked by a straight nose and a high forehead; the hands are particularly well formed, with beautifully modeled



Fig. 1. VERROCCHIO: MADONNA.
(Terracotta.)
Museo Nazionale, Florence.



Fig. 2. SCHOOL OF VERROCCHIO: MADONNA.
(Marble relief.)
Collection of Quincy Adams Shaw, Boston.



Fig. 3. FOLLOWER OF VERROCCHIO: PORTRAIT BUST.
(Terracotta.)
Collection of Quincy Adams Shaw, Boston.



Fig. 4. LORENZO BASTIANINI (?):
PORTRAIT BUST.
Collection of M. Gustave Dreyfus, Paris.



fingers. And to these characteristics we must add the treatment of the mantle in sharply creased, excessively accumulated folds which give the impression of cloth soaked in plaster. It is a work of the same breadth and monumentality as Verrocchio's famous marble bust, the lady with the primroses, in the same museum. These works represent the full maturity of Florentine Quattrocento art; they form the bridge over to the High Renaissance.

There are no other plastic Madonna representations by Verrocchio or in his style which can compare with this, although we find his name used pretty often for compositions of this kind.

The most interesting and valuable among these Verrocchiesque Madonna compositions is without doubt the large marble relief in the Quincy Shaw Collection (Fig. 2); it is, indeed, a work of unusual beauty, standing in many respects alone among contemporary Madonna representations. The relief is larger than the usual Quattrocento Madonnas; it includes, besides the Virgin—turned almost in full front—with the Child in her lap the little S. John. She is characterized as a very young, almost girlish mother, lacking something of the composure and magnificent dignity which we found in the above-mentioned terracotta relief of the Bargello. The type and the hands are also somewhat different: it seems thus to us most likely that the work was done by some highly gifted pupil in Verrocchio's *bottega*, a sculptor whose individual talent was far superior to Francesco di Simone's, the stonecutter responsible for most of the Madonnas ascribed to Verrocchio. There is no marble Madonna by Verrocchio himself to outclass this work.

The Quincy Shaw Collection contains also a large terracotta bust, said to represent Lorenzo dei Medici and ascribed to Verrocchio by several eminent critics like Bode,¹ Makowsky,² Marcel Reymond³ and others (Fig. 3). As to the person represented, we must leave the question open, simply stating that we are unable to discover any likeness between this tame face and Lorenzo dei Medici's ugly but characteristic appearance. The bust was also doubtless executed some years after the death both of Lorenzo dei Medici and of Verrocchio; it shows a rather superficial and summary modeling, without that definite rendering of the bony structure of the face

¹ Denkmaeler der Renaissancesculptur in Toscana.

² Verrocchio: Künstlermonographien.

³ Verrocchio: Maitres d'Arts.

which is so characteristic for Verrocchio. It could perhaps with more reason be brought in connection with Benedetto da Majano's art, but it is too broad and decorative a work for this mild and sentimental *scarpellino*. It is evidently done by a master who has studied Verrocchio and who tries to imitate his decorative ornaments (see the armor!), but who has no feeling for life in form and line. Still, it is from the end of the Quattrocento—it is no *pendant* to the terracotta bust, called "Giuliano dei Medici," in the collection of M. Gustave Dreyfus in Paris, as often stated¹ (Fig. 4). The Dreyfus bust is a work from the middle of the nineteenth century, probably by the well-known Italian sculptor Lorenzo Bastianini; it has, indeed, little in common with the works of the *Quattrocentisti*. The composition is over-emphasized and the modeling is characterized by that puffy, incoherent treatment which we find in Bastianini's works.

The same kind of modeling in puffy spots is also to be seen in another well-known terracotta bust which, according to the above-mentioned authorities, is a masterpiece by Verrocchio; it used to belong to the collection of M. Edmond Foulc in Paris and is now in the J. Pierpont Morgan library in New York. The composition is simpler, the lady does not turn her head so violently as the supposed Giuliano dei Medici; she is rather stiff and angular, but she lacks entirely that unconscious ingenuousness and charm which fascinate us in true Quattrocento works. Both the modeling and the patina bear witness of the nineteenth century; it is a masterpiece by Bastianini, not by Verrocchio.

Returning from this excursion about the Verrocchiesque busts to the Madonna compositions, we wish to mention in the first place a painted terracotta acquired a few years ago by the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 5). The Virgin's type still recalls Desiderio da Settignano's dainty young Madonnas; she is more frail and girlish than the dignified mother in the Florentine relief; the forms are more restrained and spare. Her likeness to Verrocchio's bronze David, one of his earliest works, makes it probable that this Madonna was completed before 1470. But it is noticeable that the hands have already the same beautiful shape, the folds much of the same plastic quality, which we have observed in the later and more mature creation in the Florentine collection. The weakest part of this Madonna composi-

¹ Cf. the above-mentioned works by Bode, Makowsky, etc.

tion is the boy, who sits in a rather awkward position, balancing on his mother's knee while he smilingly performs the ritual benediction. The over-accentuation of his joints makes the legs appear almost detached, a fault which, however, is to be found, although in a less degree, also in the Putto with the Dolphin. The decorative effect of the whole is very much improved by the old coloring, a light blue in the mantle, red in the dress of the Virgin, which still remains in great part.

The same favorable statement cannot be passed about the preservation of the large terracotta relief representing the Madonna with S. John in the Widener Collection (Fig. 6). This work has been heavily repainted and regilded, but the composition is of unusual interest. It is attributed to Antonio Rossellino, but according to our notion the style of this relief is considerably later, broader and maturer than we ever find in Rossellino's Madonna reliefs; it comes much closer to Verrocchio's manner of expression.

The Virgin is represented almost in full front; the boy sits on her left hand and leans toward the little S. John, who is standing on a balustrade at the side of the Madonna, the composition being thus somewhat broader and heavier than in the previous reliefs. The forms are also rather full and well-rounded, but the types retain a marked Verrocchiesque character. That is especially true of the two boys, Christ and S. John, who may be called rustic relatives of the naked Bambino in the Florentine Madonna relief. For special comparison with these boys I also want to draw attention to the Madonna painting by Verrocchio in the Altman Collection, where we find a Bambino of the same heavy shape with short legs and swollen cheeks. But the Virgin is here much more dignified and beautiful; she is, in fact, surprisingly charming for Verrocchio.

Even if the Widener Madonna thus is inferior in quality and beauty to Verrocchio's authentic works, it cannot be overlooked that she has many points of connection with these: the hands have the characteristic elongated shape, the folds, particularly those of the heavy mantle, are piled up very much in the same way as in the Florentine Madonna, the type is a derivation from the same. We are inclined to regard her as a work of Verrocchio's *bottega* comparable in style and quality to certain other better known Madonnas of the same workshop, as, for instance, an uncolored terracotta relief in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.

Among the unusually numerous sculptures in that museum which might be connected with Verrocchio or his pupils we would still draw attention to a little terracotta statuette of rare beauty.

This little terracotta (Fig. 8), which also represents the Virgin with the Child, although not in relief but in round, has been published in "Denkmaeler der Renaissance Plastik" as a Rossellino; other critics have given it to Desiderio da Settignano and also to—Leonardo da Vinci. This attribution was first made, although hesitatingly, by Sir Claude Philips in an article in *The Art Journal*, 1899. Without knowing about this article before, recently we had independently come to the same conclusion and wish to give here a few reasons for this attribution which might seem hazardous to more conservative critics. It should also at once be pointed out that it will to a large extent always remain a matter of sentiment whether this Madonna statuette shall be acknowledged as a creation by the young Leonardo or by some other pupil of Verrocchio. We do not know any other sculpture by Leonardo! But there is also none of the same epoch which can compare with this in refined character and beauty; the little statuette in the Gustave Dreyfus Collection sometimes grouped with this Madonna is evidently by another hand (Antonio Rossellino?) and inferior in quality.

Morphological details, such as the modeling of the refined, nervous hands and the arrangement of the deep and rich folds, prove sufficiently that the work was done in Verrocchio's *bottega*. A comparison with Verrocchio's reading S. Jerome in the same museum is in this respect most convincing, we recommend it to everyone interested in this problem—it reveals on the one hand a close stylistic connection with Verrocchio and on the other hand the superior individual conception in the Madonna statuette.

Where but in Leonardo's early drawings do we meet a Virgin so tenderly beautiful, so radiantly happy, so entirely animated with an expression of soulful joy? Especially two sheets with Madonna *del-gatto* studies by Leonardo, the one in the Uffizi (Fig. 7), the other in the British Museum, are of the greatest interest in this connection. Both belong to the young master's most spontaneous creations, retaining almost the beating of the pulse in their lines, the atmospheric shimmer over the eyes. The slender forms and the refined face couldn't be more a-twitch with life. The type is characterized by a long, slightly bent nose, a high forehead and a pointed



Fig. 5. VERROCCHIO: MADONNA.
(Painted terracotta.)
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Fig. 6. VERROCCHIO: MADONNA WITH ST. JOHN.
(Terracotta relief.)
Collection of Mr. P. A. B. Widener, Philadelphia.



Fig. 7. LEONARDO DA VINCI: VIRGIN AND CHILD.
(Drawing.)
Royal Uffizi Gallery, Florence.



Fig. 8. LEONARDO DA VINCI: VIRGIN AND CHILD.
(Terracotta.)
Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



chin; the large eyes smile just as much as the corners of the mouth. It is the same face, the same expression we find in the little terracotta statuette; even the characteristically bent position of the head and the downward look are the same.

The sturdy naked boy with the big round head is also much alike, although he in the plastic group is not engaged with the cat but simply playing with the end of his swaddling band and animated by exhilarating joy. The group is almost an illustration to Vasari's statement that Leonardo used to execute in his early years "smiling heads of women and children."

If we direct our attention to the treatment of the Virgin's mantle we observe that the folds retain much of that plastic quality which we have seen in Verrocchio's Madonnas, but at the same time they are suppler, thinner and more varied. Whereas Verrocchio's draperies involuntarily suggest the plastered cloth, the Virgin's mantle in the little statuette gives the impression of thin, slightly starched linen. They are disposed in a far more natural and free fashion than in Verrocchio's works, and although they are richer they do not appear so bulky as in the above-studied terracotta reliefs. The sharp crests, which now and then are broken into hook-like figures, are particularly characteristic, and so are the flat folds on the ground. We can observe the same particulars in the mantle of the kneeling angel which Leonardo painted in Verrocchio's Baptism of Christ, and perhaps still more clearly in two studies of draperies in the Louvre and in the Uffizi. Both are executed with the brush in sepia on fine linen and belong to Leonardo's earliest period, when he still was working in Verrocchio's *bottega*.¹

Several other particulars in the Madonna statuette, like the nervous hands, the decoration on the forehead, the veil, etc., could be quoted as characteristic particulars sustaining the attribution to Leonardo, but that is scarcely necessary since we once have recognized the master's spirit in the conception and his hand in the treatment of the drapery. Naturally the work stands in many respects behind Leonardo's mature creations; it is lacking in force, it is somewhat angular and disjointed, as all the Quattrocento sculptures of this period, but it is animated by the captivating charm and freshness of a budding genius.

¹ Although not included in Berenson's list of Leonardo's drawings, I cannot feel any doubt as to Leonardo's execution of these studies.

THE LANDSCAPE OF HOMER DODGE MARTIN · BY
FREDERIC FAIRCHILD SHERMAN

THE work of no American painter of landscape more certainly requires an intimate acquaintance for its full enjoyment or more fully repays one for a painstaking study of its various manifestations than that of Homer Dodge Martin. Inness, who was unquestionably a greater master, in all the wide range of his product, never but once or twice touches one so nearly. Wyant, who was more closely akin temperamentally, touches one oftener though never as nearly nor so deeply. His was also a poetic interpretation of nature notable for its refinement in the same sense as Martin's; his vision however was much more limited than either Martin's or Inness's and he was obviously incapable of developing the larger aspects of a theme as they did.

Wyant and Martin were both poets in landscape; Wyant is lyrical, Martin epic in his product. One may prefer the one or the other, but of relative value of the work of the two there can be no reasonable difference of opinion. Inness and Wyant, the former in a large and the latter in a smaller way, are both emotional painters. Martin is consciously intellectual. He selected his subjects with so comprehensive a knowledge of their adaptability to his needs and with so delicate an appreciation of their possibilities for the expression of his moods that one of his closest friends once said that his finest canvases looked as if no one but God and he had ever seen the places pictured. Wyant and Inness painted more nearly whatever happened to excite their emotion. That the emotions of the latter were of many kinds and those of the former of but few explains the variety in the product of the one that is lacking in that of the other. Wyant's paintings are full of sentiment of a very exquisite sort, tender but too serious ever to even approach sentimentality. Inness's are charged with much stronger feeling but seldom so finely felt if invariably more ably expressed. Indeed, both Wyant and Martin express more successfully the subtler aspects of nature and Inness's pre-eminence rests upon the variety of his achievement and the high average of its excellence rather than upon any superior ability in the matter of expression. Inness is too fully engrossed in the reproduction of the actual appearances of things to bother with their spiritual significance, so that, however



HOMER D. MARTIN: THE SUN WORSHIPPERS.
Collection of Mr. Louis Marshall, New York.



HOMER D. MARTIN: ONTARIO SAND DUNES.
Collection of Mr. William A. Putnam, Brooklyn.



masterly his pictures of peace or of storm, the full meaning of the scene is seldom felt in his rendering of it. Martin on the other hand never fails to make one keenly conscious of the loneliness and utter desolation of certain places nor Wyant of the pensive charm of others. In Inness we admire a wonderful faculty for the presentation, in a large way and with unsurpassed truth, of nature in her many moods, while in Martin and Wyant it is the expression of these varying moods through their interpretations of nature, a much more delicate and difficult accomplishment, that impresses us most forcibly.

That you will find the figure in many of Inness's finest canvases, admirably placed and beautifully suggested, while it practically never appears in the pictures of Martin or Wyant, signifying nothing if not that Inness felt the need of it as they never did in the rendering of pure landscape. Wyant often introduced cattle and sheep in his compositions, but Martin practically never did and in the best of him one will find no living thing to divert howsoever slightly one's attention from whatever mood is expressed or to detract in the least from the feelings it is sure to arouse.

To Homer Martin the look of the land with its accompaniment of sky was sufficiently expressive to make the addition of anything extraneous unnecessary to an adequate realization of the spirit of a place and a full rendering of its suggestion either of peace, loneliness, gladness, desolation or whatever motive its particular aspect might embody. While it is true that he includes in some of his most important canvases a deserted house, an ivy-covered church, a light by the sea, it will be noted that they are very much a part of the landscape in every instance as well as expressive in themselves of the very moods embodied in the scenes of which they are a part. Martin is at his best, however, in such works as *The Sun Worshippers*, *Ontario Sand Dunes*, *Westchester Hills*, *Adirondack Scenery*, and the others that are landscapes pure and simple, in which is no visible evidence of man or of man's work. There are no finer interpretations of the moods of nature in the whole of American landscape art and their sentiment is inescapable.

His range in the selection of subject is deliberately restricted as his interest was confined entirely to such themes as offered a satisfactory means for the expression of those moods of nature which corresponded most nearly to his own, and of which his intimate

understanding made him a masterly interpreter. He does not attempt difficult performances in oil painting to convince one of his mastery of the medium; in all his product nothing may be found that approaches the dramatic in action or intensity, but perhaps no landscape painter has ever expressed such depth of feeling as is evident in his finest works; and one will look far to find anything finer in the way of mere painting than certain pictures of his like *The Harp of the Winds* or *The Sun Worshipers*.

One realizes in Martin's handling of a subject an unerring instinct for the inevitable evidenced in just such a proportionate sacrifice of unnecessary detail and personal viewpoint as emphasizes properly its particular significance. In several of his subjects, of which there are variations executed at considerable intervals, such as the *Sand Dunes*, *Lake Sanford* and the *Adirondack Scenery*, which undoubtedly derives from the *Headwaters of the Hudson*, this process of elimination and refinement, the calculated cutting away of insistent trivialities and insistence upon the primitive and elemental meanings of the landscape, is patent.

I think one may find, without great effort, suggestions in Martin's work of his predilection for poetry and music and his reaction to the best of both, for certainly if the *Harp of the Winds* is not musical you will find no music in landscape art any more than you will find poetry there if not in the *Old Manor House*. His *Andante: Fifth Symphony*, painted with the exquisite strain of that air ringing in his ears, is a notable evidence of his cultivated taste in music, the like of which is not to be found elsewhere in landscape painting, and it is surely not presumptuous to assume in other canvases intimations of poetic origin; at any rate, it is impossible to look upon certain of his masterpieces without a new understanding of that love for the odes of Keats which led him sometimes to recite them, so truly do we feel the haunting melancholy of that immortal verse in his work.

Not many artists among his contemporaries were equally cultivated, and it is interesting to note that La Farge, who was the most distinguished of those that were, was one of Martin's few friends. That the small talk of the studios had no interest for him is the only possible explanation of his lack of comrades in them, for he was a man whom men especially found lovable. I imagine much of the time his fellow artists spent together in the discussion

of the problems of oil painting Martin must have spent steeping himself in thoughts that are too deep for words, pondering the memories of half-forgotten airs or "soaking in" the beauty of some immortal verse, and this difference in the use to which he put his idle moments is plainly to be seen, I think, in the kind of thing one finds in his pictures—not fine painting for its own sake, spectacular scenery for the sake of effect, or dramatic skies; not improvisations in color nor interesting studies in chiaroscuro, but certain inescapable intimations of the important fact that "the poetry of earth is never dead."

THE BLAIR COLLECTION, CHICAGO · BY GARRETT CHATFIELD PIER

A WELL-KNOWN critic has recently remarked that when the history of taste in the United States comes to be written, one or more of its most important chapters will be dedicated to the private collector. Such a survey could not neglect the various works of art owned by Mrs. Chauncey Blair, of Chicago.

This collector, in common with many of the more important American patrons of art, has restricted herself to no special phase of art or school. At the same time her collection, embracing, as it does, examples of the arts of both the East and the West, is not only of the first quality, but most charmingly varied.

Chronologically, the collection ranges from about the first millennium B.C. to the early years of the nineteenth century. To the first period belongs a superb basalt head of one of the Saitic kings of Egypt, and, far rarer perhaps, a unique low-relief head of an Assyrian king in painted limestone. This splendidly virile portrait dates from about the ninth century B.C.; it may indeed be a portrait of Ashurnasirpal. A large blue-glazed vase with square handles is of Egypto-Roman date, while an exquisite Greek (Alexandrine) torso of a youth and a charming head of Venus in marble, both aglow with that rich golden patine which only centuries of exposure to the earth deposits can produce, date from about the third century B.C.

To the Roman period belongs a rare series of silver vessels, and a choice group of the single-colored glass bottles of the Sid-

onian angular type. These last range in date from the first century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. To the later Roman era, and somewhere between the fourth and sixth centuries A.D., are assigned certain remarkable textile fragments of which this richly varied collection possesses two large and well-preserved examples. One, a circular medallion, decorated with a bold if somewhat crudely drawn design in crimson, blue and green, shows winged genii pouring out libations at the sacrifice of a steer in honor of Castor and Pollux—those “light-distributing gods” of the Mithras cult. The fragment is thus another example of that heavy and closely woven silk which, on account of its design, is commonly referred to as of the “dioscuri type.” Of this type, but two other examples are known to us; one in the church of S. Servatius, Maestricht, and the other in the Berlin Museum. The design of the second age-stained silk is similarly Sassanian in style, and represents a mounted horseman, that great Nimrod, Chosroes II, it may be, urging on his galloping horse in pursuit of a wounded lion. Here again the figures, though crudely drawn, are richly colored, a deep crimson red being the dominant note. We may remark in passing that these rare fragments are but two of a large number of the most superb brocades and embroideries, consisting of many of the gorgeous crimson, blue, gold and silver threaded vestments from such Near Eastern fabriques as those of Brusa, Damascus, Cairo, and Ispahan. We shall have occasion to deal with these choice examples of the weavers and embroiderers’ art in a subsequent issue.

From one of the innumerable forest-grown temples in or about Angkor, in distant Cambodia, comes a large bronze forearm and hand, a model of exquisite delicacy and slender grace. Originally part of a statue somewhat larger than life, this finely modelled survival of a lost Avalokitésvara, or some such beneficent *bôdhisâtva*, seems to furnish a connecting link between the art of a vanished Khmer Kingdom of French-China and that Greco-Buddhist art which, coming likewise—though by a far different route—from India, spread with such marvelous results to China, Korea and Japan. With a rough stone head of Gautama Buddha from the same district, a head which has much in common with the gigantic heads of the Angkor pillars, it would seem to date from about the twelfth century.

To the sculptural art of the West belongs a Romanesque head



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Fig. 1. FRENCH 15TH CENTURY: VIRGIN AS A CHILD. (White limestone, painted.)

Fig. 2. FRENCH 15TH CENTURY: ST. SEBASTIAN. (Gray sandstone.)

Fig. 3. FRENCH EARLY 14TH CENTURY: VIRGIN AND CHILD.

Fig. 4. FRENCH LATE 14TH CENTURY: NIMBUS OF MUSICAL ANGELS. (Marble.)

Fig. 5. LATE ROMANESQUE: HEAD OF CHRIST.

Collection of Mrs. Chauncey Blair, Chicago.



of Christ (Fig. 5), a ruggedly virile work which preserves the full majesty of Byzantine painting. A century later in date is a Madonna and Child of the school of Auvergne, a rigidly dignified group in which the Madonna presents the stolid features, the apparently unseeing eyes and the hieratic pose of the seated groups of pre-Gothic art. The Virgin, seated in the "throne of Solomon," holds the Christ-child upon her knees. Both Virgin and Child are represented as of no special age or sex, a characteristic of the type. She is of wood—wooden, in more senses than one. A single redeeming feature, however, is the handling of her drapery folds, which fall in rhythmic waves from shoulders to feet. This arrangement is closely akin to that of the "flowing-water" style, so marked a feature in certain phases of Ceylonese, Indian and Sino-Japanese representations of the Buddha. Confronted by such stolid and utterly graceless figures, we can but be amazed at the short period of growth which culminated in the glorious sculpture of the early thirteenth century. Indeed, it is a great debt that we owe to the craftsmen of Burgundy, Champagne and Normandy, who were already well on toward that idealistic and far more sympathetic art which we to-day call "Early French Gothic." Though this group has long since lost its original polychrome decoration, faint traces of the deep-blue mantle being alone visible, it strongly resembles that famous polychrome group which is to-day one of the most revered treasures of the Louvre. A few of these Romanesque Madonna groups are still *in situ*, notably those at Ronzières, Marsat, Orcival and Saint-Nectaire. In these, as in the statue under discussion, the Virgin seems to play a secondary part, the Christ-child being customarily held upon her knees facing full front, presented as it were to the devout worshippers. At times, his head is slightly inclined downward, but as a rule, like his mother, he gazes stolidly, unseeingly in front of him.

With the coming of the Gothic art, all this is changed. The Virgin, now become the main theme, is raised to her feet, the Child being represented as a strictly human infant, inattentive to all but its mother. Held in the hollow of the Virgin's arm, he either plays with the tassel of her mantle or gazes lovingly up into her smiling face. Again, it would seem that the mere fact of raising the Virgin from the cushioned "throne of Solomon" served to do away with the hieratic rigidity of her former pose. We may note this in an

early fourteenth century group belonging to Mrs. Blair (Fig. 3), a group in which the clumsy naïveté of the Romanesque sculptor has given way to the tender suavity and freedom so characteristic of the best Gothic art. There is now a natural sway to the hips; the rounded limbs are attached to an anatomically correct trunk. The head, still veiled by an Oriental mantle, bends slightly forward, a sweetly austere smile irradiating the dimpled corners of the thin, but well-cut lips. It is a notable advance upon the infantile Romanesque sculpture, or even, dare we say it, upon that of the first Gothic of Chartres' west front, with its lines of thin, elongated and shoulderless saints and virgins hanging in their columned niches like the lifeless monks of the Cappuccini.

With the coming of the thirteenth century, there begins a renaissance in sculpture, more especially in the modelling of "the human form divine," an art which, to all intents and purposes, had been lost for a period extending over some nine hundred years and more. This sculptural art of France in the thirteenth century is characterized by a quiet dignity of pose and an austere sweetness of expression. Anatomical structure is there, conformity to nature and a strong vitality. For the sculpture of monasticism, entrained as it was in the Romano-Byzantine tradition, gave place suddenly to a strictly *lay* school, a school of sculptors who looked to Nature for their inspiration—in fine, that marvelous school of realism which we today call "Gothic."

From the close of the twelfth century, this early Gothic of France had developed with such amazing rapidity that it had already reached the height of its glorious career by the first half of the thirteenth century. We refer, of course, to the perfected Gothic at its simplest, its purest, its best; the Gothic of the sculptors of Amiens, Reims, Chartres and Notre Dame of Paris, the Gothic of the Beau Dieu of Amiens, the Virgin of the Visitation at Reims, and the Virgin and Child of Notre Dame.

The figure groups of the Middle Ages served a didactic rôle. They thus tended to become more and more realistic, emotional, and we are not surprised to find that the delicate *atticisme* of Chartres and Senlis gave place to the more lively art of Chartres' thirteenth century transept, or that of the great portal of Reims.

With the fourteenth century, the French sculptors forsook the essentially idealistic representations of apostles, saints and virgins

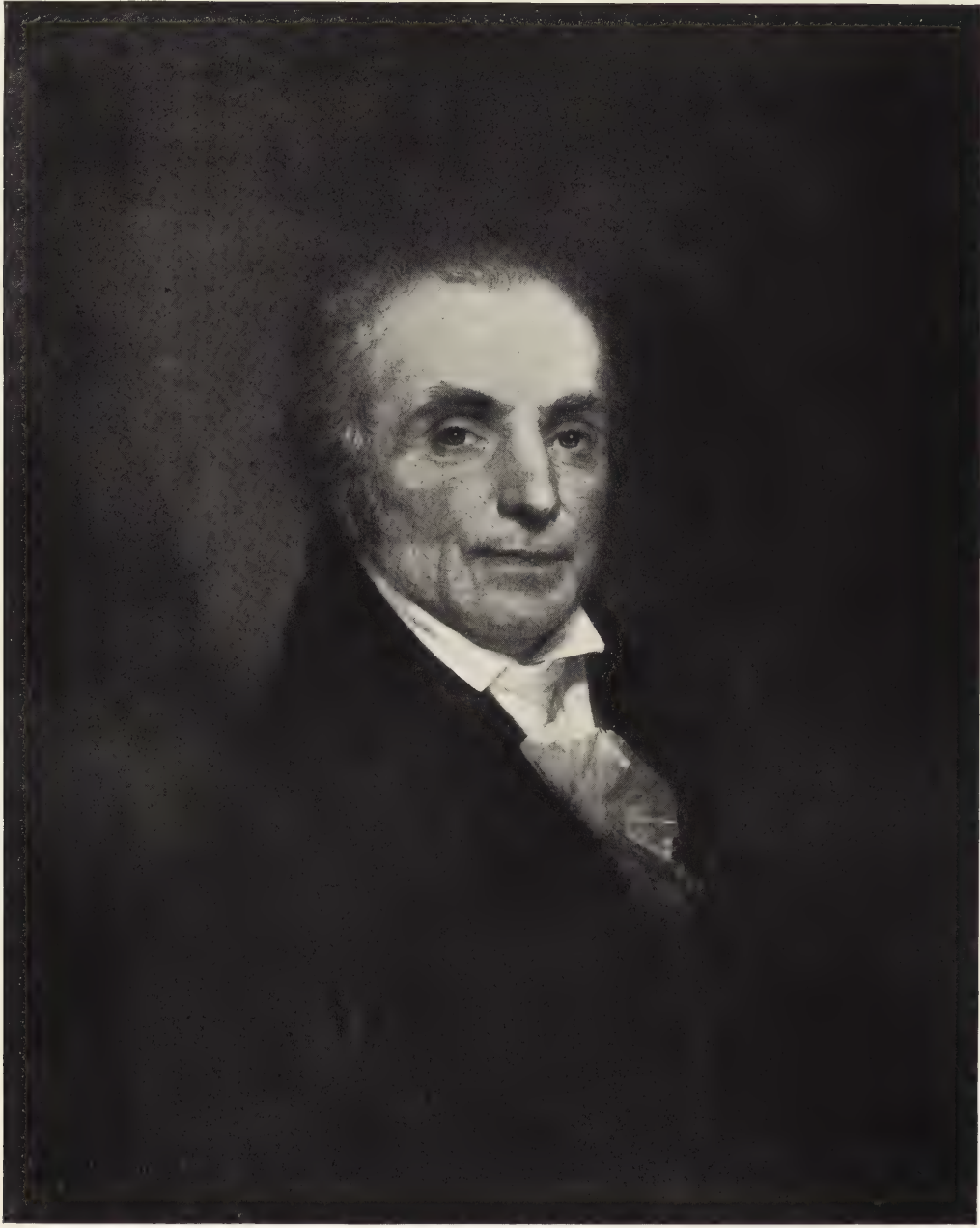
and turned for their inspiration to the forms and features of the men and women about them. Thus, from the second half of the fourteenth century to the middle of the fifteenth century, French sculpture tended to become ever more and more strongly emotional. The simplicity, restraint and consequent grandeur of the thirteenth century craftsmen, is now lost. The figures of the period are often charming, it is true, but it is a charm which one may call "earthly" as opposed to the ideally celestial visions of an earlier date. The one spoke to the spirit; the other to the senses. And yet, during the two hundred years of its history, this later Gothic of France, though affected with a strained and unnatural emotion, is never without strong evidences of the essentially French genius which inspired it.

An example of this later phase of Gothic art in the Blair Collection consists of three gilt marble groups which originally formed part of a nimbus of musical-angels (Fig. 4). A polychrome stone group in the Louvre is very similar, a group assigned to the sculptural school of Touraine and dated in the first half of the fifteenth century. The Blair group is certainly earlier, as it is indeed far better in style, and we have no hesitation in assigning it to the close of the fourteenth century. A startlingly realistic statue of S. Sebastian (Fig. 2), in gray sandstone, resembles both in spirit and technique the beautiful S. John of the church at Loches, now in the Louvre. Here we are confronted with the figure of a youthful S. Sebastian, a figure which recalls at once visions of the art of the early Florentines. It is a work of one of the master sculptors of Touraine of about the middle of the fifteenth century. A youthful saint, not improbably the Virgin as a child (Fig. 1), is carved in fine white limestone and richly painted. One may well attribute it to the sculptural school of Champagne of the early fifteenth century. Further, so strong is the resemblance between this charmingly insouciant figure of the youthful Mary and the Mary in the well-known "S. Anne and Mary" group from the Château of Chantelle (now in the Louvre) that one is greatly inclined to attribute the Blair figure to the same hand. Certainly in this half-length girlish figure we possess one of the best examples of the *école Champenoise* that has survived us. The early fifteenth century art of the school of the Ile de France is exemplified in an early fifteenth century Virgin and Child, a limestone group whose pose and the handling of

the drapery folds shows the beginning of that period of decline which changed the supple saints and apostles of the thirteenth century into merely conventional figures, the tender smile of the figures of Amiens, Chartres and Reims into a "*moue boudeuse et refrongnée*" and the natural flections of the drapery folds into the hardest of hard volutes.

PORTRAIT OF JEAN ANTOINE HOUDON PAINTED BY
REMBRANDT PEALE · BY CHARLES HENRY HART

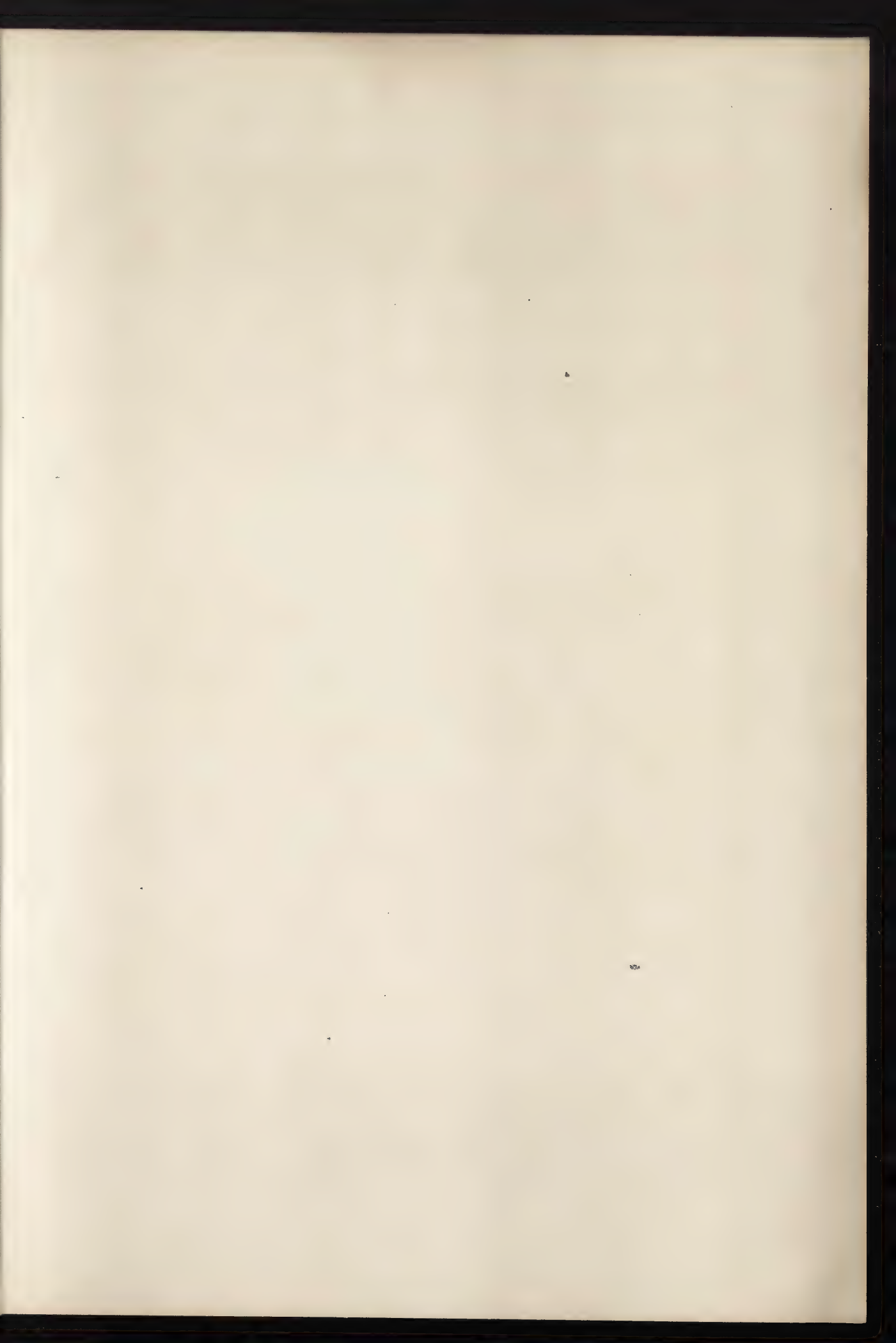
THE name and fame of Jean Antoine Houdon, the greatest of French sculptors and it may not be too much to say the greatest sculptor of modern times, ought to be and is very dear to Americans. He has not only given to us living busts of Franklin, Jefferson, John Paul Jones, La Fayette, Robert Fulton and Joel Barlow, but greatest of all he has given to us a statue which Gilbert Stuart, America's master-painter and preeminently the portraitist of Washington, has declared to be the canon by which every other and all portraits of this immortal character must be judged. Born in Versailles in 1741 and educated in Rome, Houdon crossed the ocean with Doctor Franklin in the summer of 1785 for the one purpose of modelling from life the face of George Washington for the statue he had engaged to make for the State of Virginia. To accomplish this, after sojourning a fortnight in Philadelphia, he visited Mount Vernon and for two weeks, in October, lived under Washington's roof, studying him daily, taking a mask of his living face and modelling his head. When he hied him back to France, where he arrived on Christmas day, Houdon carried with him the life-mask he had made, a treasure too sacred to be intrusted to another's care, but left for his *practiciens* to bring after him the life-bust. These unique and most important works remained in the sculptor's possession until his death in 1828, when his effects were dispersed and the life-mask to-day is the most precious American item in the Pierpont Morgan collection, while the life-bust is in the Salle Houdon of the Louvre in Paris. It was from these and the measurements and drawings he made from the living man that Houdon produced his famous statue of Washington in the capitol at Richmond, Virginia.



REMBRANDT PEALE: PORTRAIT OF JEAN ANTOINE HOUDON.
Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

When Rembrandt Peale, the son of Charles Willson Peale, who was born in Bucks county, Penna., February 22, 1778, and died in Philadelphia, October 3, 1860, visited France in 1808 he met Houdon in familiar intercourse and in his atelier Houdon placed in Peale's hands, with becoming reverence, the life-mask of Washington's face and most appropriately sat to Peale, who as a youth of seventeen had had the opportunity of painting a canvas of Washington, for his own portrait, which we reproduce by permission from the original belonging to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts at Philadelphia.

Rembrandt Peale seems to have had a singular aptitude for impressing himself upon men of high attainments in different walks of life. His father was a man of various accomplishments and the son apparently followed in his footsteps. He could converse fluently with some knowledge upon art, science, philosophy and the bones of the Mastodon that his father had discovered. Thus he was enabled to have Delambre, Cuvier, Guy de Lussac, Denon, David, Bernardin de St. Pierre and a host of others in France as his sitters for portraits painted for his father's museum in Philadelphia. Denon, who was Napoleon's Director General of the Museums, offered him government employment, and once asked him why the best English painters were Americans and pressed him to remain in France, saying that "as Gérard had commenced history and could paint no more portraits, he would give him all the Imperial portraits to paint," adding, "I prefer Gérard to you, but I prefer your portraits to any others here." And the portraits painted by Rembrandt Peale at this period and a little earlier are the best that he ever did, full of individual character, well drawn and rich in color; indeed, it is quite incomprehensible how he fell away from grace and produced the many inferior portraits we have by him. It is fortunate that the portrait of Houdon belongs to Peale's very brief good period, and to judge from the other portraits that we have of this eminent artist, it is a very gracious presentation of the sculptor of Voltaire and of Washington. The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts has in its galleries also Peale's portrait of Denon and of David.





FRANCISCO DE GOYA : THE FORGE
COLLECTION OF MR. HENRY CLAY FRICK

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GOYA AND CERTAIN GOYAS IN AMERICA · BY
CHRISTIAN BRINTON*

DOWNERED with a protean personality, it is in nowise strange that Goya should present different aspects to different eyes.

The French romanticists of the past century, to whom belongs the credit of his discovery by the outside world, pictured him as unequivocally picaresque. It was Gautier¹ who fostered the legend, and it is the Goya of his colorful pages who has descended to us in all his flaunting individuality. A reaction was however inevitable, the fertile improvisations of Gautier having been supplemented by the solid facts set down by Francisco Zapater,² and the sound, first-hand investigations of the Conde de la Viñaza³ and Valerian von Loga.⁴ As in most instances of the sort, the real Goya lies midway between the two extremes. It can scarcely be maintained that he was the flamboyant braggart whom the Frenchmen depict, nor was he, on the other hand, the fervid pietist that Señor de la Rada,⁵ for instance, would have us believe. Despite an unquenchable zest for life, art was the chief preoccupation of his existence, and it is his art, which expresses itself in terms of life, with which we are concerned.

It should be superfluous to trace save in silhouette the outlines of Goya's⁶ career. He was, in essence, a transitional figure. Born

¹ Théophile Gautier et Eugène Piot: *Francisco Goya y Lucientes. Le cabinet de l'amateur et de l'antiquaire*. Paris, 1842. Théophile Gautier: *Voyage en Espagne (Tras los Montes)*, Paris, 1843.

² Francisco Zapater y Gómez: *Apuntes histórico-biográficas acerca de la Escuela Aragonesa de Pintura*. Madrid, 1863. Francisco Zapater y Gómez: *Goya; Noticias biográficas de Goya*. Zaragoza, 1868.

³ El Conde de la Viñaza: *Goya. Revista Contemporánea*. Septiembre, 1883. El Conde de la Viñaza: *Goya, su tiempo, su vida, sus obras*. Madrid, 1887. El Conde de la Viñaza: *Adiciones al diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las Bellas Artes en España de D. Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez*. Madrid, 1889-1894.

⁴ Valerian von Loga: *Francisco de Goya*. Berlin, 1903.

⁵ Juan de Dios de la Rada y Delgado: *Frescos de Goya en la Iglesia de San Antonio de la Florida*. Madrid, 1888.

⁶ Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes was born March 30, 1746, at Fuendetodos, a small village near Zaragoza, in Aragón, and died at Bordeaux, April 16, 1828.

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under the older regime before the raucous mutterings of the Revolution, he lived to see Rococo replaced by Reality. His position in Spain was similar to that of Fragonard in France, yet unlike Fragonard he himself was instrumental in ushering in the new order. Those afflicted with the fetish of consistency find it difficult to countenance Goya's adroit adjustments to the changing conditions of the day. That he could so blandly serve both heaven and earth, that he could swear allegiance to "el Rey intruso," and later welcome the accession of the craven and contemptible Fernando VII, are facts which disturb methodical minds. The inconsistencies of his conduct are nevertheless insignificant beside the inequalities in his work. He was at once the most inspirational and the most indifferent of painters. At times capable of displaying passionate exaltation, he would again betray little save contempt for the task in hand. He presents a case not of dual, but of multiple, aesthetic personality. The keynote of his career can alone be found in his temperamental equipment, in the circumstances of his life, and the shifting spectacle of society as it seethed about him.

When, in his twentieth year, Goya, for reasons best known to himself, left Zaragoza for Madrid he took with him a presumable knowledge of drawing and composition, an undoubted talent for music, and a ready propensity for sword play. While it is true that his notoriously robust constitution suffered during after years, he was blessed in the main with a superabundance of physical energy. Obstinate and pugnacious, like every Aragonés, he was not without a determination to succeed and a sagacious regard for this world's goods. He contracted a judicious marriage and was not long in winning the favor of Mengs, who was then the artistic dictator of the capital. It was the reception accorded his Tapestry Cartoons⁷ which first brought him into public notice, and from thence onward his popularity was assured. For a full half century his vogue continued undiminished. He painted by turns royalty and nobility, *torero* and *garitero*, religious subject and genre. Possessing an aesthetic curiosity which was literally insatiable, he at intervals attacked with similar, if not greater ardor, etching and lithography.

It is difficult to recall anyone who has left behind a graphic record of his time comparable in extent or precision with that which

⁷ Goya's first work for the Fábrica de Tapices de Santa Bárbara dates from July, 1776. The second and more characteristic series appears to have been begun during the summer of 1786 and was completed by 1791. See Museo Nacional, Nos. I-XLVI.

Goya has placed to his credit. He is the pictorial historian of eighteenth and early nineteenth century Spain. His production stands unsurpassed in verity, concision, and completeness. His sympathies were universal, and he imparted to each phase of expression the particular impress of his day and generation. "La Época de Goya," as they term it in his own country, comprises however three distinct periods which may be designated as the periods of Rococo, Revolution, and Reaction. To each he gave characteristic semblance. The alluring grace of the age of Rococo finds its appropriate aftermath in the Tapestry Cartoons. The blood lust of the Revolution leers from those sanguinary canvases known as the Dos de Mayo and Escenas del 3 de Mayo de 1808.⁸ And finally, in Los Proverbios,⁹ and the decorations of his own home, "la Quinta del Sordo," or Deaf Man's House, we are confronted with countless macaberesque visions which crowded upon one whose fate it was to behold blackness and desolation descend like a pall over a land once serene and care free.

Too much has been made of Goya's revolutionary tendencies and his desire to hold up to scorn the manifest corruption of his day. That he was a shrewd student of character and a born satirist there can be no question. What is of current moment is not however his ambiguous position as a rebel and reformer but the fact that life as it unfolded itself before him seemed instinctively to assume pictorial form. There is in the entire range of his production no doctrinarian search for subject or setting. Reality was for him all-sufficient. He was devoid of that tendency toward the abstract which has played such an important part in the development of painting. He was a naturalist in the most explicit signification of the term, and to naturalism he added the emotional eloquence of romanticism, and, at times, the questing analysis of the impressionists. History, mythology, and sacred story were naught to this avid devotee of the actual. He was anti-classical, anti-clerical, and anti-academic. The gods and heroes of antiquity did not overawe him. He preferred popular *ferias*, the sun-scorched *corrida*, the sparkle and stimulus of every day existence.

⁸ Museo Nacional, Nos. 734 and 735. Note spirited oil sketch for the latter subject in the Hispanic Society, No. 29. Manet's Execution of Emperor Maximilian, now in the Mannheim Kunsthalle, was obviously suggested by this composition.

⁹ Los Proverbios. Colección de diez y ocho láminas inventadas y grabadas al agua fuerte por Don Francisco Goya. Publicala la Rl. Academia de Nobles Artes de San Fernando. Madrid, 1864. It is difficult accurately to fix the date of these plates which were never published during Goya's lifetime. 1810-1815 would seem to cover the period of their production. They first appeared incompletely, in 1850, and were abominably printed.

Although, during the course of a long and prolific career, he mastered a prodigious variety of subject, there was one theme to which Goya remained faithful. It is through his portraits that he is chiefly known to the general public, and it is these vivid records of the men and women of his time which are responsible for the vogue he at present enjoys in our midst. Strangely neglected by the museums, Goya has of late been eagerly purchased by the leading private collectors of America and Canada. Nowhere save in Spain and in France is he better represented, and it is gratifying to note that every season witnesses substantial additions to the canvases by Goya which have found their way to these fortunate shores. Before considering in detail certain of the portraits, mention should be made of two important genre subjects which rank among the typical triumphs of the painter's brush. In *The Forge* (Frontispiece), which was recently on public view for the first time in America, we have a canvas that bridges the chasm between Velázquez and Daumier. The power and surety, the sovereign knowledge, and bold concentration of vision and handling which this work evinces insure it a position of significance in any consideration of Goya's art. Hitherto unknown even to the critical hierarchy, and ignored by every authority upon the master's work, the canvas is doubtless identical with the picture designated as "Forgerons," No. 101, in the catalogue of Louis-Philippe's *Galerie Espagnole*.¹⁰ Its history is both curious and interesting. Together with several other canvases by Goya it was purchased from the painter's son at Madrid, in 1836, by Baron Taylor and M. Dauzats. Exhibited at the Louvre in 1838 and for some years following, it was sold by Christie and Manson, London, May 20, 1853, as forming part of the collection of Louis-Philippe, and has since been in private possession in England. That it belongs to the artist's later period is attested by the similarity in tonality and

¹⁰ The inception of Louis-Philippe's *Galerie Espagnole* was quite in accordance with royal precedent. When, in 1836, after successive revolutions in Spain the suppression of the religious orders and the consequent dispersal of their property went into effect, the French monarch decided that it would be a propitious moment in which to secure examples of the work of leading Spanish masters. His chief art factotum, M. le baron Taylor, assisted by the painter Dauzats, who had formerly known Goya at Bordeaux, were therefore dispatched to the Peninsula with orders to spare no pains in their efforts to acquire the best available material. So successful was their mission that, when placed upon exhibition at the Louvre in 1838, the collection numbered four hundred and forty-two canvases, eight of which were by Goya. Following the death of the ex-King at Claremont, in Surrey, the Spanish Gallery, as it was called, was sold by Messrs. Christie and Manson in May, 1853. It then included five hundred and one paintings, eleven of which were credited to Goya, and it is significant to note that the entire six days' sale netted but £4497. *The Forge*, or *Forgerons*, figured as No. 101 in the Louvre Catalogue, and as No. 354 in the London sale catalogue.

technique which it shares with certain subjects removed from Goya's house and presented to The Prado in 1881 by Baron Emil d'Er-langer.¹¹ The scene was taken directly from life, and it has not heretofore been remarked that the figure on the left holding the iron ready for the swinging sledge to descend is the same as the young Knife-Grinder in the National Gallery of Budapest.¹² The date of 1815 has been suggested as the probable period of this picture, though in view of the above circumstance it should be somewhat advanced.

In the *Majas on the Balcony*, which is more familiar to the public, we encounter Goya in an equally convincing though less dynamic mood. The canvas, which was originally in the collection of S. A. el Infante Don Sebastián Gabriel de Borbón y Braganza, is one of three similar scenes and is the most satisfying of all. A veritable synthesis of Old Spain, the picture is yet specific in its presentation of the several personalities composing the group. Nowhere is the artist more subtle in his tonality and nowhere has he employed with more caressing charm the luscious *negro de hueso* with which he indicates the stronger accents such as the black mantilla and pencilled eyebrows of the *maja* on the left. The piquant veracity of the episode is irresistible, and in viewing the two cloak-enshrouded individuals in the background one can but recall the remark of the prosaic Carlos III who was wont to complain that the Madrileños of the day would "skulk about the streets with covered faces more like conspirators than the subjects of a civilised monarch."¹³ With Goya the simplest facts of nature rise to a singular pitch of expressive power. A few deft, felicitous touches and the merest local effects become the enduring mastery of art. It is small wonder that this canvas should have exercised a potent influence upon succeeding painters. That Manet admired it is proved by his *Balcony* now reposing in the Louvre, and that Zuloaga paid it tribute may be seen from a glance at his *Women at the Bull-fight* in the Stchoukin Collection at Moscow.

There are in various American collections a few additional genre subjects, notably the prophetic fantasy known as *The Flying Men*, which recalls certain themes in *Los Proverbios*.¹⁴ None, however,

¹¹ Museo Nacional, Nos. 2166a-2166n. Colección de la casa de Goya.

¹² No. 316a. Köszörüs. Formerly in the Esterhazy Collection, Vienna. It is interesting to compare this latter canvas with its predecessor by Antonio Puga entitled *The Itinerant Knife-Grinder* in the Hermitage (No. 435).

¹³ Francisco Goya. By Hugh Stokes. G. P. Putnam's Sons. p. 248.

¹⁴ Compare in particular with Plate XIII.

is comparable with the foregoing, so we shall turn to his work in the province of portraiture. In these seemingly impromptu likenesses Goya achieves that same directness of impression which distinguishes his work in other fields of artistic endeavor. His instinct for truth seldom fails him, and his grasp of character is astounding in its accuracy. He painted in all, four different Spanish rulers, and placed upon record the foremost personalities of his epoch. He did not possess the impeccable proficiency of Velázquez. His art is uneven, temperamental, and individualistic, yet his regard for fact never permitted him to add to his portraits any elements extraneous or pedantic. They do not survive because they embody the august canons of past practice, but rather because their author was able to impart to them something of his own compelling physical vitality.

Robust, unsuspecting Carlos IV, sex-enslaved María Luisa (Fig. 4), self-complacent Godoy, vain and parvenu Floridablanca, depraved and disillusioned de Aranda,—each reveals to us upon these canvases inner as well as outer self. Court and society were fearlessly diagnosed by the ruthless peasant from Fuendetodos. One by one the leading figures pass in pictorial review. Lithe and sinuous Romero is succeeded by sensitive, lyrical Moratin. The spirited seduction of the Duquesa de Alba is supplemented by the frank sensuousness of the pretty bookseller of the Calle de Carretas. Discerning as he was, Goya nevertheless betrays no bias, no appreciable *parti-pris*. He was supreme when interested in his subject. No one indeed has ever excelled him in a certain vivid objectivity of presentation. While it is true that his portraiture had its origin in the pseudo-classicism of Mengs, and, in its initial stages, owed not a little to the comprehensive vision of the painter of Felipe IV, yet it soon became a personal expression, something which knew no law save the spasmodic inspiration of the moment. At times his preoccupation was terrifying, the sitter rash enough to break the pose not infrequently doing so at his immediate physical peril. Goya would use his thumb, a bit of rag, a spoon, anything in order to attain the precious accent of life. "A picture is finished," he maintained, "when the effect is true," and it was truth of effect for which, above all else, he strove.

The painter's name has been coupled, not without substantial cause, with that of the sprightly and daring Duquesa de Alba (Fig. 1). It is a satisfaction to note that one of the best portraits he com-



Fig. 1. GOYA: DOÑA MARÍA TERESA CAYETANA DE SILVA Y ALVAREZ DE TOLEDO, DUQUESA DE BERWICK Y ALBA, MARQUESA DE VILAFRANCA.

Collection of the Hispanic Society, New York.



pleted of her is at the Hispanic Society, New York. Based upon the animated sketch showing the artist and the piquant Doña María Teresa standing side by side in an open landscape with storm clouds massing in the distance, the canvas is dated 1797, and was formerly in the Goyena Collection at Sevilla. Its history may be traced still farther back, however, for we find that it also figured in Louis-Philippe's Galerie Espagnole as No. 103, and as No. 444 in the London sale catalogue. As in the sketch, which belongs to the Marqués de la Romana, the Duquesa is here clad in black, with black mantilla, and is silhouetted against a landscape background. The name Alba is plainly visible on the bezel of the ring which she wears on the second finger of her right hand with which she points to the ground, where we see inscribed at her feet the signature of the painter. Such touches of amiable affectation in nowise detract from the truth of the likeness itself. As part of the sentimental pretense of the period they but serve to enhance the authenticity of Goya's portraiture. Historically the Hispanic Society portrait is the most important of all Goya's likenesses of the Duquesa. It marks the termination of a long and tempestuous infatuation. It is *l'envoi* rather than an invocation, for the artist returned from his voluntary exile at San Lucar de Barrameda a broken and embittered man. When Doña María Teresa resumed her position at Court she ceased to see as much of Goya as formerly, while he turned for a time from sentiment to satire, from portraiture to the mordant penetration and vitriolic violence of *Los Caprichos*.¹⁵

Although the preceding canvas did not appear in the recent loan exhibition of paintings by El Greco and Goya, there were, in compensation, numerous portraits not widely known to the local public. The seated likeness of La Condesa de Altamira y su hija dates from 1787 when Goya had but turned forty years of age. It represents the painter in one of his most expressive moods. Technically he never surpassed the fluent fidelity of the pink robe which envelops the slender form of Doña María Ignacia. Here is painting for its own sake. Here is an instance of that sheer joy in craftsmanship which was not infrequently to desert him in after days. There are indeed but a few times in the course of an artist's career when he finds himself in similar vein, and for an appropriate parallel one

¹⁵ Although usually dated 1796-1798, when early prints were delivered to subscribers, *Los Caprichos* must have been begun at least three or four years previously. It was these plates, the initial edition of which consisted of seventy-two subjects with descriptive titles, that first carried the name of Goya beyond the confines of his own country.

may well turn to Sargent's portrait of Mrs. Carl Meyer. The seated three-quarter likeness of Doña Narcisa Barañona de Goicoechea which, on this particular occasion, looked from the same wall, is a more mature performance. One of Goya's finest female portraits, it is notable for its spirited assurance and for that balance of elements which alone comes with age and experience. The figure is superbly placed upon the canvas and the color scheme is of rare beauty and propriety.

Of kindred interest were certain portraits of men that figured in the same exhibition, all of which are in the possession of American collectors. The seated three-quarter lengths of Don Ramón de Posada y Soto and Don Isidro Gonzalez, and the bust likenesses of the *torero* Costillares (Fig. 2) and the Conde de Teba revealed Goya at his best. Costillares, who shared with Romero the distinction of being the most popular *espada* of the day, is here seen in green jacket, white scarf, and black kerchief. The physiognomy, though characteristic, suffers somewhat from over-modelling, and lacks the majestic simplicity of the swart countenance of the Conde de Teba (Fig. 3). Those fortunate enough to have seen the memorable Altspanische Ausstellung at Munich early in 1911 will doubtless recall this fine example of Goya's art. It comes from the collection of Don José Lázaro Galdeano, in Madrid, and to-day finds itself under the same roof as The Forge, already commented upon.

Still, it must not be assumed that local collectors stand alone in their admiration for the work of the sturdy individualist who forms the connecting link between the age of artifice and the age of actuality. Across the border, the gallery of Sir William Van Horne in Montreal contains numerous examples of Goya's art, prominent among which are portraits of the Marqués and Marquesa de Castrofuerte (Fig. 5) recently purchased from descendants of the family living in Valencia. While, as is the case with many of Goya's canvases, it is difficult to assign dates, it is probable that these two subjects were completed about 1815. The portrait of the Marquesa is of special interest on account of its intensity of expression and convincing sense of personality. The dark fur collar is masterfully indicated, as are also the blue silk gown and touches of blue in the headdress. Other canvases by Goya in the possession of Sir William include an early portrait of Don José Juan Camarón y Meliá, son of the Director of the San Carlos Academy, doubtless painted during the artist's visit to Valencia, rec-



Fig. 2. GOYA: THE TOREERO JOAQUÍN RODRÍGUEZ COSTILLARES.
Possession of Messrs. Scott and Fowles, New York.



Fig. 3. GOYA: EL CONDE DE TERA.
Collection of H. C. Fritch, Esq., New York.



ord of which exists in the shape of a nude drawing executed in 1789 before the life-class, "en la clase del Naturel," of the historic Academia de San Carlos. The collection is further notable for an attractive bust of the dancer, Rita Molina, and two oil sketches, one presumably for *Los Desastres de la Guerra*.¹⁶

Although indifferently featured at such institutions as the Metropolitan Museum, and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Goya is, as you will infer, more adequately represented in America than is generally assumed. In comparison, the National Gallery of London possesses but four subjects, the Louvre four, the Kaiser Friedrich Museum three, and the Nationalgalerie, Berlin, two. More fortunate, Budapest boasts five splendid examples, including two popular types in the Knife-Grinder and the Water-Carrier, together with the graceful and ornate seated likeness of the wife of the distinguished art historian Don Juan Agustin Ceán Bermúdez, purchased in 1908 for 180,000 kronen. While there are numerous important canvases in private possession in Paris, and others scattered among the provincial museums of France, to-day, as always, much of Goya's best work reposes in the keeping of the Spanish nobility and aristocracy. It is from this latter source that Americans are enriching their collections, and before long it may be necessary for the Spaniards to cross the ocean in order to study the work of one of their most typical and indigenous masters.

Despite its singleness of perception and presentation the art of Goya is not without a manifest complexity of inspiration. Although the painter himself was wont to aver that his only masters were "Nature, Velázquez, and Rembrandt," there are traces of wider artistic sympathies throughout his copious and vital output. The pagan coquetry of Tiepolo peers from the cupola, spandrels, and tympana of that most secular of sacred edifices, the church of San Antonio de la Florida.¹⁷ There are echoes of Pietro Longhi's vivacious satire in not a few of the genre studies, while the indebtedness to Carreño and more especially to Velázquez has already been indicated. The equestrian portraits of the stolid Carlos and the

¹⁶ *Los Desastres de la Guerra*, Colección de ochenta láminas inventadas y grabadas al agua fuerte por D. Francisco Goya. Publicala la Rl. Academia de Nobles Artes de San Fernando. Madrid, 1863. Goya's own title was *Estragos ó desastres de la Guerra*. Like *Los Proverbios*, these plates were not published during the artist's lifetime. The date of their composition covers the years 1810-15.

¹⁷ It was in 1798 that Goya was commissioned by Carlos IV to decorate the interior of this church. Assisted by his pupil, Asensio Juliá, he completed the task in the phenomenally short period of three months, without, it is said, losing so much as a single day's time.

insatiate Doña María Luisa are frankly reminiscent of the latter master. Though essentially Peninsular in theme and treatment, the Tapestry Cartoons but continue that tradition of Gallic gaiety which in turn derives from the kermesses of Teniers and the Flemish painters of the seventeenth century. You will in brief find here, as in the work of every artist, unmistakable affinities with that which has gone before. Literature, too, helped to sharpen his vision of contemporary life, for you will discover in the comedies of Ramón de la Cruz and Don Antonio Zamora suggestions for many of the episodes, popular or fantastic, which, notably in *Los Caprichos*, relieve the formality of official portraiture.

Goya's native tendency of spirit, his typically Aragonese stubbornness of temper, nevertheless resisted all temptation toward mere imitation and preserved his individuality unhampered amid the seductions of Court life and the social and political cataclysms that marked the closing years of his existence. He was a democrat living in the midst of an effete and decadent aristocracy. A creature of fluctuating conditions, he had few fixed convictions. Fearless and sure of his position he was free to paint as he liked and whom he liked, whether it chanced to be royalty or the racy and ragged specimens from the *pueblo bajo*. The diversity of motive and the inequality of artistic standard which you meet throughout Goya's work were inseparable from the man's personality and manner of painting. He was by no means an irreproachable craftsman. Owing to haste and the injudicious use of certain pigments the Tapestry Cartoons are mere travesties of their former selves. In numerous portraits the physiognomy of the sitter is sadly marred by the fact that the backgrounds have worked through to the surface. It was Goya's usual custom to cover his canvases with a coating of *tierra de Sevilla* and then paint thinly over this ground, with the result that the flesh-tones are often unpleasantly crude and hot.

In compensation, however, the Spaniard at times achieved a delicate ambience which rivals Watteau and a silvery purity of tone that recalls Gainsborough and the British masters of the eighteenth century. Technically as well as intellectually he was in advance of his day, certain of his later works¹⁸ proving that he was seriously

¹⁸ Note in particular the extremely significant canvas known as the Junta de los cinco Gremios mayores, or meeting of the Philippine Company in the Musée de Castres, and the more dramatic study for the same in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (No. 1619). The sketch may be dated 1819, and the finished picture the following year.

preoccupied with the solution along entirely modern lines of the problem of light and atmosphere. A true pioneer, he was not without definite ideas upon this particular phase of artistic development. "In nature," he would say, "color does not exist any more than line. There are only light and shade. Give me a bit of charcoal and I shall paint you a picture. The entire secret of painting consists in the profound study of the object and in surety of execution."¹⁹ There was moreover nothing meticulous or myopic in his attitude. "I do not count the hairs in the beard of a man who passes by," he one day exclaimed, "and my brush cannot see more than I." Again he added, "Teachers confuse their pupils by making them draw year after year with their best-sharpened pencils almond-shaped eyes, mouths like bows, noses like the figure seven reversed, and oval heads. Why not give them nature for a model?—that is the best drawing-master!" Holding such views it is not strange that Goya's position should be more significant to-day than during his lifetime. It was in fact not until long after he had passed away that his art, saving in its personal and superficial application, was in any degree appreciated or understood.

Shortly following the restoration of Fernando VII Goya retired to a modest property which he owned outside the city on the banks of the Manzanares near the Puerta de Segovia. His sovereign, recognizing his worth, overlooked his liberalism and the painter was thus enabled to retain his post as "primer pintor de Cámara." Embittered by the blighting rule of the young reactionary, he nevertheless finally obtained permission to leave Spain on the pretext of taking the waters at Plombières. It was doubtless his intention merely to join the group of fellow *afrancesados* then congenially gathered at Bordeaux, and it was in the city by the Garonne that he passed the remainder of his days. Subject to spells of nervous depression, his sleep disturbed by diabolic *sueños*, totally deaf, and almost blind, he nevertheless continued active until the end. His appetite for life still unappeased, he would potter about the streets whenever able, supported on one side by the faithful de Brugada and on the other by his god-child, little Rosario Weis.²⁰ Together they attended the popular amusements, the fairs and bull-

¹⁹ Goya. Por Laurencio Matheron, Traducción de G. Belmonte Müller. Madrid, 1890, pp. 63, 64.

²⁰ Goya's wife, the dutiful Doña Josefa, died about 1804, and of the twenty children she bore him, only one, Francisco Javier de Goya y Bayeu, reached maturity.

fights, and delighted in the antics of the strolling mountebanks. It was during this period that, handicapped as he was, he not only taught Rosario how to paint miniatures, but himself executed the astounding *Toros de Burdeos*.²¹ A species of epilogue to *La Tauromaquia*,²² these plates have been described as "the greatest and most significant lithographs in the history of the art."²³ They are indeed all that is claimed for them, and offer the most eloquent possible proof of the man's matchless aesthetic fecundity.

Although living on French soil, few native artists were even so much as aware of Goya's existence. During his brief visit to Paris in the summer of 1824, he appears to have met no one of consequence save Horace Vernet. He especially commended upon this occasion the work of Gros, Géricault, and Eugène Delacroix, and it was the latter who first grasped the importance of Goya's position in the world of art. Delacroix eagerly copied the plates in *Los Caprichos* and otherwise evinced unbounded admiration for the Spanish precursor of the Romantic movement. On sojourning in the South during 1832-33, he was greatly impressed by the spirited truth of Goya's transcriptions of Peninsular type and scene. "Tout Goya palpitait autour de moi!"²⁴ he exclaimed with frank enthusiasm. And here, in brief, seems to lurk the keynote to Goya's contribution. His artistic vision was not only concrete, but comprehensive. He succeeded, as few painters have ever done, in perpetuating for us a definite period, in giving a fulfilling sense of his age and epoch. Moreover, the legacy which he left to posterity is not alone local, it is universal.

In the basement of the Prado is a case containing a series of rapid sketches in sanguine which Goya used for *Los Desastres de la Guerra*. Under certain of these horrific scenes, jotted down at fever heat, you may still plainly decipher the phrase "Yo lo ví"—I saw it. There could not possibly be a more succinct commentary upon the art of Goya than that which is contained in these three

²¹ *Los Toros de Burdeos* consists of four bull-fight scenes drawn directly upon stone with the aid of a powerful magnifying glass, in 1825. They were admirably printed by Goullon, the edition having been limited to three hundred copies. The aged artist was nevertheless unable to dispose of these superb lithographs, as is proved by numerous appealing letters to his friend, Don Joaquín María Ferrer, in Paris.

²² *La Tauromaquia* includes thirty-three plates in aqua-fortis and aquatint printed under the supervision of the artist to 1815. For some inexplicable reason they were not widely circulated, and first became generally known through the edition being issued by the *Calcografía de la Imprenta Nacional* in 1855.

²³ Goya. By W. Rothenstein, Longmans, Green & Co., p. 25.

²⁴ Goya. Par Paul Lafond, Paris, 1902. p. 1.



Fig. 4. GOYA: PORTRAIT OF QUEEN MARÍA LUISA.
Collection of Charles P. Taft, Esq., Cincinnati.



Fig. 5. GOYA: MARQUESA DE CASTROFUERTE.
Collection of Sir William Van Horne, Montreal.



simple words. He belongs among those in whom eye and hand worked in perfect unison. With him to see was to express. He reproduced life spontaneously, automatically, almost, and this is why his art retains its enduring fusion of verity and vitality. Like the imperishable masters from whom he derives, he never once forsook the fundamental inspiration of race and clime. And, like them, truth to nature was with him an imperious necessity.

The position of Goya as a world artist is no less significant than is his place in the aesthetic history of his own country. If El Greco presents as no one the austere ecstasy of religious mysticism, and Velázquez the aristocratic restraint of royal circles, Goya is the true child of freedom, a forerunner of the stressful individualism of modern days. Church, Court, and turbulent Democracy have found in these three men their typical interpreters. We are already familiar with Goya's rank as a portrait painter. His achievement in the province of mural decoration can only be appreciated by taking the shabby tram which conducts you through the northern suburbs of Madrid to San Francisco de la Florida. It was however in the graphic arts that the genius of Francisco de Goya attained its supreme expression. His mastery of light and shade here equals that of Rembrandt, and in sheer demoniac fury he excels Félicien Rops. Everything he attacked is instinct with movement, passion, and impetuosity. The art of Goya is singularly potent in its power of suggestion. He possessed to an uncommon degree the faculty of projecting his personality into the future. Intellectually he has been compared to Voltaire, Diderot, d'Alembert and other far-seeing liberals whose ideas so radically altered the status of mankind.²⁵ As a painter his influence by no means ceased with Delacroix, Daumier, Henri Regnault, and Manet. It was continued by Sargent and Zuloaga and is as strong to-day as ever. Not only did he succeed in reviving the traditional glory of Spanish painting during his lifetime. He remained one of the vital artistic forces of the ensuing century.

²⁵ Goya. *Sa Vie, Son Œuvre*. Par Charles Yriarte. Paris, 1867, p. 2. The exact phraseology is: "Il est de la famille de Voltaire, de Diderot et de d'Alembert."

VENETIAN PAINTINGS IN THE UNITED STATES :
PART TWO · BY BERNHARD BERENSON

BARTOLOMMEO VIVARINI'S more incisive hand can be distinguished in a number of elaborate polyptychs he helped his elder brother, Antonio, to paint for Istria, Dalmatia, the March of Ancona, and other lands accessible by sea. In his first independent work, the "St. John of Capistrano" of the Louvre, signed and dated 1454, the line is as sharp and raw as if cut in leather. It is as keen as Crivelli's, but without the rhythm. The crisp swirls of the scroll quite definitely recall Carlo Crivelli. We may indeed assume a contact between the two artists, taking place at Padua, whither Bartolommeo must have gone to make acquaintance with the innovations of Squarcione and his great pupils, Pizzolo and Mantegna. We detect the result through the rest of his career, not only in the obvious paraphernalia of fruits and garlands and other properties of the Squarcione studio, but in a more earnest attempt at construction and modelling. For a time Bartolommeo must have given fair promise, but after some fifteen years he ossified his art into heavy stupid shapes, and into stereotyped arrangements, which then seem to have been carried out with mechanical dulness by the workmen of his factory.

Happily in America we can study the best that he achieved during his promising years of growth. If Mr. Platt's "Madonna" (Fig. 1) is not Bartolommeo's masterpiece, it is surpassed only by Mr. J. P. Morgan's "Epiphany."

In Mr. Platt's panel we see Our Lady seated on a marble throne, the back of which is hung with creased watered silk and garlands of fruit and leaves. She is as far away and immobile as a Madonna by Perugino, and the over eager Child seems to be unable to attract her attention, nor does she listen to the music of the four attending infant angels. As workmanship, the substance of this painting is almost like lacquer, and the color is brilliant and pure. Not these qualities alone remind us of Crivelli, but also the arrangement, the accessories and the details. On the other hand, the Virgin's face and the Child's action are still close to those in the Arba polyptych which Bartolommeo painted with Antonio in 1458. Mr. Platt's picture is thus very likely one of the earliest quite independent works by Bartolommeo which has come down to us.¹

¹ Mr. F. Mason Perkins was the first to recognize the author and the quality of this "Madonna." He published it on two separate occasions (*Rassegna d'Arte*, 1908, p. 145, and 1911, p. 146).



Fig. 1. BARTOLOMMEO VIVARINI: MADONNA.
Collection of Mr. Dim Felloves Platt, Englewood, N. J.



Fig. 2. BARTOLOMMEO VIVARINI: MADONNA.
Collection of the late Theodore M. Davis, Newport, R. I.





Fig. 3. BARTOLOMMEO VIVARINI: ADORATION OF THE MAGI.
Collection of Mr. J. P. Morgan, New York.



Mr. Morgan's small Epiphany (Fig. 3) expresses, more completely than most other treatments of that subject, the mingled hilariousness and solemnity which to this day in Italy gives that festival the character of a Northern Christmas. The Child turns to His mother as if frightened by the attentions of the graybeard King prostrate at His feet. The youngest of the Three Kings looks on with dramatic interest equally ready to worship or to give way to repressed joviality, while the train of horsemen and pages in the middle distance is approaching merrily. In the background a great spur of a cliff dominates a snug inlet, on the other side of which rise the quadrangular palaces and towers of a stately town. In the limpid sky we see a choir of nude baby angels singing with music scrolls unfurled before them.

The workmanship is of the highest quality attained by Bartolommeo. The line, although biting, is yet so softened by the color as to be devoid of harshness. The color, for which the sumptuous apparel of the Three Kings gives full scope, is bright and lucid, yet fused. The effect is of enamel or lacquer. The arrangement in height is agreeable and not interrupted, as it might easily have been, by the pillars of the porch. The action is never again, in Bartolommeo's known works, so dramatic or so vital.

Indeed, this delightful painting was a great surprise to all of us, for it was quite unknown when it appeared three or four years ago at the Abdy Sale in London. It has not only greatly enlarged and enhanced our notion of Bartolommeo's artistic personality, but given us the means of judging the influence he suffered and exerted. Thus, the landscape and the figures in the background betray contact with Jacopo Bellini. On the other hand, there is no certain trace of Mantegna. The Virgin's homely face seems a study from the living model, presented as it was seen, without schematization. Nothing is perhaps rarer in the art of Italy at that time. It is a face which was copied more than once by Bartolommeo's followers, notably in a "Madonna" in the Venice Academy (No. 616), ascribed to the master himself. The rectilinear solid masses of building and the rich cornices we now can recognize as his, and they are of no small aid in our efforts to classify the Venetian paintings of the third quarter of the fifteenth century.

A brief note taken so long ago as 1894—since when I have not seen the picture again—refers to the "Magdalen" then at Mr. Quincy

Shaw's in Boston as being of a quality equal almost to Crivelli's; and that is still the impression left in my memory.

A mere mention will here suffice for the two remarkably fine and strenuous full-length figures of "SS. James and Francis" in the possession of Mr. Johnson. They are discussed and reproduced in my Catalogue of his collection; and we may pass on, therefore, to a picture (Fig. 2) belonging to Mr. Theodore M. Davis, of Newport, R. I., which closes Bartolommeo's golden period. The Madonna, seen between a parapet and a red curtain, holds the Child uneasily seated on a white cushion. He looks out of the picture eagerly and restlessly, and His Mother looks at Him forebodingly from half-closed eyes. There is a pathos here which is characteristic of the seventh and eighth decades of the fifteenth century in Venice, as may be seen in the Madonnas by Giovanni Bellini of these years, although modified, in him, by the restraint of a great master. It is far removed from the meditative placidity of Bartolommeo's earliest Madonnas such as Mr. Platt's, and the reason for its sudden appearance would be worthy of study.

As a painting in the more specific sense, this panel would deserve to rank not only with its author's best but with the best Venetian work of the time, if its condition did not rob it of most of its virtue. Even the signature has been tampered with, and the date may be read as either 1472 or 1477. Either date might be correct, for the type and the spirit is in accord with other works of this period, both by Bartolommeo Vivarini and by Giovanni Bellini. And it is scarcely to be doubted that in these years Bartolommeo was following close upon Bellini, as indeed the Child in this picture manifests so unmistakably.¹

From about 1480 till the end of his career Bartolommeo's own art became so dull and his studio so prolific that it is hard to tell whether a given work is autograph or not. It does not matter greatly, I confess. Thus, whether a "Madonna" in Mr. Johnson's Collection, dating from the eighties, and another in the Fogg Museum of Cambridge of about the same date, were painted as well as designed by Bartolommeo, may be left an open question. Such, however, is not the case with the elaborate polyptych surrounding a carved *Pietà* dated 1485, and signed, as these articles for export generally were,

¹ First published by Mr. Joseph Breck in the *Rassegna d'Arte* (1911, p. 111), in the course of an excellent article on the collection of Mr. Davis. I knew the picture years before in the hands of the dealer who reduced it to its present devitalized condition.



Fig. 4. CARLO CRIVELLI: S. GEORGE AND THE
 DRAGON.

Collection of Mrs. John L. Gardner, Boston.



Fig. 5. CARLO CRIVELLI: MADONNA WITH SS. FRANCIS AND BERNARDINO
 AND DONOR.

Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

with the "FACTVM VENETIIS PER BARTOLOMEUM," etc., which is in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. It is obviously a factory work, but, for a factory work, not a bad one. Discreetly lighted in the incense-laden atmosphere of a harmoniously colored chapel, it must have been effective.

VI.

In Carlo Crivelli the Byzantine painting of the West reached its culmination and fullest fruition. Crivelli no doubt owed much to the Paduans, but his gorgeous polyptychs, filled with a sensuous splendor of decorative detail, suggesting the *iconostaseis* of Greek churches, are still in essence mediæval Greek. There is, however, in his art a quality of genius which the Byzantine world never produced, and, without Renaissance leaven, probably never could have produced. The stirring of the Quattrocento spirit, which in Florence, and under the influence of Florence, was so prolific, produced, when in union with Eastern methods and traditions, no signal offspring but Crivelli.

Fortunately he is represented in our collections by works not only of the best quality but of the largest variety. Many phases of his style may be studied without leaving America.

The earliest example is the "Enthroned Madonna"¹ in the collection of Mr. Philip Lehman of New York. It happens to be at the same time the most sumptuous and the most magnificent. Indeed, if other works of his earlier years equal or surpass this gorgeous figure in vitality of contour and plasticity of planes, none even approaches it for decorative splendor. Therein it anticipates his maturest masterpieces.

It need scarcely be pointed out to the student for whom I am writing how Muranese the throne in this picture is, nor how the artist's evident joy in painting garlands and his zest in solving puzzles of perspective relates him to the Paduan school of Squarcione. Not less apparent is the Byzantine influence in the pattern of the Virgin's entire silhouette and in her draperies; most of all, in the lower part.

The task remains to place this masterpiece among its next of kin in Crivelli's career. In design it stands closest to the more tentative "Madonna" in the Cook Collection at Richmond, which I should date 1469, but in every other respect it marks a more mature

¹ Published by R. E. Fry, *Burlington Magazine*, XXII, p. 308, and by F. J. Mather, Jr., *Art in America*, I, p. 48.

style. The Child, for instance, is less pinched and anxious-looking than He is there, or in the earlier Massa polyptych, or the even earlier Verona panel. On the other hand, His movement is not so free and alive as in the Macerata "Madonna" of 1470, or Mr. Robert Benson's of 1472, or in the "Madonna" probably of the same year in Brussels. The Virgin in the Ascoli Polyptych dated 1473, on the other hand, stands very close to this one. The picture thus relates itself to works whose dates spread over four years or so, and this is not unnatural, since, as a matter of fact, few artists pursue a course like a straight line never turning. Most oscillate slightly back and forwards, or even progress spirally, as it were, so that it is never safe to take one detail as proof of a fixed date. In this case, the balance of evidence seems to put Mr. Lehman's picture just before the Macerata Madonna, whom she so closely resembles in facial type, and would thus place it as the first of a series marking Crivelli's earliest maturity.

With the "Madonna" of 1476 in the lately reconstituted polyptych of the National Gallery¹ began a more definitely ripe phase of Crivelli's art, lasting till the Brera triptych of 1842. It is characterized by greater facility with a scarcely noticeable loss of poignancy, and one begins to meet with a certain mincingness and the first signs of the forced yet charming mannerism of his later years, the consequence, for good or evil, of his provincial environment. The most dainty and attractive work of this period is the exquisite Northbrook "Madonna." It is a phase unrepresented in America.

A fourth period begins with the Brera triptych just mentioned, and ends with the Berlin Altarpiece, not dated but painted just before 1490. In these years Crivelli gets more and more sumptuous, more gorgeous, more magnificent. He has greater recourse to embossing in the striving for effects germane to the arts of ornamentation rather than of decoration. The mannerisms in pose and expression increase, and a slight listlessness begins to enfeeble his hand.

To this moment of his art belongs the panel (Fig. 5) in the collection of Mr. Walters. The Madonna appears in an arch in front of a curtained niche; she supports the Child on an embroidered cushion on the parapet. St. Francis is on the one side and St. Bernardino on the other. On the parapet we discover the miniature

¹ It is conceded that the uppermost tier never belonged to the rest. The St. Catherine looks like a figure of much later date, close to the same saint at Berlin.



Fig. 6. NICCOLÒ DI MAESTRO:
ANTONIO DE ANCONA: THE
BAPTIST.
*Collection of Mr. Henry Walters,
Baltimore.*



Fig. 7. CARLO CRIVELLI: PIETÀ.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

figure of the Donor, a Friar whose "F. B. D. A." may have stood for Frate Bernardine, or Benedetto, da Ascoli, or Amandola, or Ancona.

It is a delightful work of soft but rich color and lacquer-like effect. The feeling is still delicate in the Virgin's face, but in St. Francis it is over-externalized, and started already on the easy road that led to Guido Reni. In the modelling, too, there is a relative emptiness. The closest affinities of this work are with the South Kensington and Bergamo "Madonnas" and the great Berlin altarpiece. It must have been painted toward 1488.

The pleasant enough but somewhat empty panel of the Metropolitan Museum, portraying a combative "St. Dominic" and an operative "St. George," illustrates this phase of Crivelli's career; while to the end of the period belongs a very different "St. George" (Fig. 4), the marvellous fairy-tale in gold and lacquer and flaming line, holding a place of honor among Mrs. J. L. Gardner's masterpieces. Here is not an attitudinizing page-boy, but the ever youthful defender of eternal right against regardless might. His face of beauty and passion and his slim body are outlined against the golden sky, while he bestrides a gorgeously caparisoned steed, himself in shining armor that can never lose the purity of its luster. He is now hacking away at the Dragon, already transfixing by his lance. The young knight, too, is nearly tired, but his victory is sure. Under the bastion's tower of the undevastated city kneels in prayer the Princess for whom he is fighting. Stately trees stand dark against the sky. What a pattern—and what an allegory!

VII.

Mr. Babbott's "St. James,"¹ an eager gnarled, apostolic figure, takes us back to the earlier years of Crivelli's career, toward 1473 or 1474; and to the same period, or indeed a trifle earlier, belongs the first of the three *Pietàs* by him that we own in America. It is the heartfelt tender picture at Mr. J. G. Johnson's, which for reasons detailed in the Catalogue of the collection I would place no later than 1473.² Twelve years after this, during the time when Crivelli had attained his greatest mastery and was more than ever

¹ Mr. F. L. Babbott of Brooklyn. This picture is reproduced in the *Rassegna d'Arte* for 1911 (p. 207).

² Reproduced there as well as in Prof. A. Venturi's compendious history of Italian Art (Vol. VII, part 3, p. 393). The same volume contains reproductions of nearly all the Crivellis mentioned here.

magnificently ornate in his accessories, he painted the most original of all his treatments of this sublime subject, the famous *Pietà* of 1485, which years ago migrated from the Panciatichi Collection in Florence to the Museum of Boston.

In this panel Our Lord is not seen as in the others, settled into the tomb while supported by bystanders. Here His entire figure—a nude, by the way, not unworthy of Signorelli—is still visible, and the consequent action is more dynamic, while the arrangement admirably helps on the impression of upward-lifted weight.

The Crawshay *Pietà* (Fig. 7) recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum is a compacter work of more relaxed feeling, although the action of Our Lord's Mother is passionate enough. But the Saviour of this *Pietà*, like the one in the still later Vatican version, is as calm and noble in His bodily sleep as the Dead Christs of Bellini. Crivelli's "Annunciation" of 1486 would make one suspect that, just before painting it, he had paid a flying visit to Venice, his old home. Could we be sure of this, it would account for the unusually Bellinesque feeling.

VIII.

No example is known to me in American collections of Crivelli's last phase, occupying the four years between 1489 and his death in 1493, and characterized by a more somber splendor of aspect, and by an increased mincingness and affectation in pose and expression, as may be seen in typical works in London and Milan. Of his later style, his well-known pupils and followers, Victor Crivelli and Pietro Alemanno, were the natural heirs; and, as is frequently the case with disciples, they at times anticipated and always outdid their master's exaggerations. Victor, the better workman, was most prolific, producing flattened and lusterless imitations of his namesake's masterpieces. Intrinsically they are agreeable. Pietro was unequal, and his better moments revealed a painter who was almost an artist.

I have not come across anything in America that can be ascribed to Pietro Alemanno. Victor, on the other hand, is represented by several specimens, including one that may rank with his best. This is a polyptych in the Wilstach Gallery at Philadelphia.¹ In the central panel, dated 1489, we see Our Lady holding the Child standing on her knee, while four Angels adore Him. In the side panels stand SS. Louis and Francis, the Baptist and St. Bonaventura. Of

¹ Published by F. M. Perkins in *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1908, p. 120.

nearly the same value are two figures, a "Baptist" and a "Bishop," in the Walters Collection. The small bust of a youthful "Franciscan Friar Reading," ascribed in the Metropolitan Museum to Niccolò da Foligno, is earlier and more subtle than the others.

The full-length figure of a bony and parched "Baptist" (Fig. 6) in the Walters Collection is by still another follower of Crivelli, who elsewhere has signed himself "Nicola di Maestro Antonio de Ancona." The attribution to Verrocchio is no doubt a tribute to the structure, drawing and modelling, which are perhaps more suggestive of Florence than of the Marches. It would take me too far away to relate this panel to other works by the same hand. I shall do this elsewhere.

THE BLAIR COLLECTION, CHICAGO : PART TWO BY GARRETT CHATFIELD PIER

THE breadth and freedom of the sculptural school of Champagne, that soft yet ever virile sculpture of the Marne, is again well exemplified in a mobile figure of the Virgin, and a serenely smiling Christ-child, held high in the hollow of his Mother's arm (Fig. 5).

Attributable, as the group undoubtedly is, to the commencement of the second half of the fourteenth century, it serves to illustrate one of the best of the later phases of Gothic sculpture as evidenced in the marble of Provence, the hard granite of Auvergne, the docile limestone of the Royal domain, of Lorraine and the Midi. Of the original brilliant coloring, faint traces still remain.

This charming little group is quite untouched by the distortion of figure and over-elaboration in detail so strongly characteristic of the art of the Low Countries. This unfortunate, nay, at times malign influence, appears to have exercised an all too prominent domination in the realm of French sculpture, even as early as the first half of the fifteenth century. Indeed, it was not until the close of the century that the French sculptors succeeded in relatively shaking themselves free from that pernicious influence, with the result that once again the figurines and statuettes, the benign Virgins, the smiling Christ-child, and the whole hierarchy of Apostles, Saints and Martyrs became clothed in that tender suavity, that forceful simplicity and, withal, that natural grace which are features in the

pure French sculpture. No better example could serve to illustrate this phase of late Gothic art than the group under discussion.

When we consider the technique of this group, and compare it with the Madonna statuette illustrated in Fig. 3 of the February number of this magazine, we see at once that this Champenois group is somewhat later in date. The rounded face of the Virgin is far more human, the sway at the hips more accentuated, the drapery folds fuller, heavier and somewhat more involved. At the same time they are far more freely handled. The costume of the earlier Madonna group—I do not refer to the cloak seen at each side of the figure—still retains strong evidences of thirteenth century formality and want of flexibility. The Champenois group, on the contrary, has lost all signs of such constraint. It recalls the supple Gothic of Amiens, Reims, and Beauvais, a sculpture entirely free and untrammelled.

To the middle of the century perhaps, and to the same southern school, belongs a polychrome limestone statuette of S. Genevieve, a simply-draped figure represented as marching victoriously forward and clutching to her flat bust a ponderous chain. This bulky fetter encircles the hairy neck of a hideous monster—the Spirit of Evil—who leaps frantically upward in ineffectual attempts to tear the chain from the hand of the gently smiling yet somewhat abstracted little saint.

In contrast to the restrained vitality of these examples of early French Gothic, the Flemish taste for contortion of form and elaboration of detail is strikingly evinced in a niched group of the Virgin and Child said to have come from a church in Tournai (Fig. 1). We have here to do with bodies out of line and robes so voluminous, those of the Virgin at least, that not only do they effectually conceal the form beneath, but, in their exaggerated folds, they exemplify the very quintessence of that involved and somewhat incoherent vitality so marked a characteristic of the Gothic sculpture of the Low Countries, or perhaps its French interpretation. It may be that the unknown sculptor would have succeeded better had he been committed to a standing rather than to a seated representation of the Madonna. In this case his treatment of the florid drapery folds seen in the long and voluminous court robes of his day, in which he has seen fit to clothe the Virgin, might have proved far



Fig. 1. FLANDERS, SECOND HALF FIFTEENTH CENTURY: VIRGIN AND CHILD.
(Limestone, painted.)



Fig. 2. FRENCH, SIXTEENTH CENTURY: VIRGIN AND CHILD.
(Limestone.)



Fig. 3. FRENCH (BURGUNDIAN SCHOOL), FIFTEENTH CENTURY: A MOURNER.



Fig. 4. FRENCH, SIXTEENTH CENTURY: A MARTYR.
(Marble.)



Fig. 5. FRENCH, SECOND HALF FOURTEENTH CENTURY: VIRGIN AND CHILD.
(Limestone, painted.)



more convincing. As to Flemish overelaboration, we may remark the rich tracery which runs riot upon the cusped canopy.

Yet neither here, nor in the various statues which we have already discussed, should we judge the *imagiers* too harshly. We must bear in mind that the greater proportion of these groups and single figures were originally intended to be set at a height, at least above the level of the eye. Thus, few were expected to undergo the intimate and dispassionate scrutiny from which so many of these forlornly detached and sadly battered saints and Virgins suffer to-day. And further, we must remember that the loss of their original bright but subdued colors has tended at once to harshen their outlines and to render their former benign, sorrowfully yearning or sweetly smiling expressions weak and spiritless, nay, at times, mawkish and grotesque!

The realism of the Burgundian school, so evident in the Dijon sculpture of the last quarter of the fifteenth century, is well exemplified in two marble statuettes of *pleurants*, of which one is illustrated in Fig. 3. The two are simply yet naturally posed, their heads bent downwards, their faces coldly calm. Their attitudes express at once grief most poignant, yet grief restrained. Originally no doubt the figures formed part of a procession of grief-stricken mourners who stood beside the marble bier of some great noble, gazing down in mute but most expressive sorrow at the recumbent effigy of their master prone upon its marble slab. Before these two age-stained statues one instantly recalls visions of the *pleurants* at the tomb of the Duke of Berry (Bourges Museum) or that more solemn representation of the obsequies of Philippe Pot, now in the Louvre. In company with the last, our two little figures may be assigned to the sculptural school of Dijon, of the close of the fifteenth century.

In a limestone bas-relief representing the Descent from the Cross, a sculptor of the School of Champagne has sought by means of the sympathetic poses of his subjects and the restrained rather than violent expressions which he has stamped upon their features, to render the sorrow of the stricken Virgin weeping over the corpse upon her lap and the mute grief of the three holy women and S. John, gathered about her.

Strikingly reminiscent of Gheeraert David's S. John, in his early panel painting of the beloved Disciple and the Holy women

(Antwerp), is the forceful polychrome marble statuette of a Martyr, possibly the Apostle Barnabas. At any rate, the Saint stands holding a palm branch in his left hand, and a copy of what should be S. Matthew's Gospel in his right (Fig. 4). The pose, the calm dignity expressed in the ascetically pinched yet strikingly handsome face, and the superb arrangement of his voluminous robes, are here rendered with all the skill and tender sympathy of a master. The statuette is undoubtedly one of the best examples of French sculpture to be seen in this country, and dates from a period when the second great classic revival had begun to make itself felt.

But the influence of this Italian-inspired revival is far more markedly expressed in the soft limestone relief of the Virgin and Child (Fig. 2). The pure contours of the Virgin's girlish face are here well-nigh as markedly Italian as French. As for the little Christ-Child, his noble forehead, his full but well-cut lips and well-defined chin, his merry dimples, eyes set wide apart and little retroussé nose, bespeak the influence of Rossellino's charm. One might indeed suppose that the unknown sculptor who has so truthfully rendered this happy little Christ-Child had both seen and absorbed the art of Antonio's exquisite little children; his cherubs so tenderly, so realistically portrayed, the laughing cherubs of the Sistine Chapel, the boy-bust of the little Christ-Child in the Morgan collection, or the Baptist of the Museo-Nazionale, Florence, to me the most noble boy of the Italian renaissance.

"THE SAMPLERS OF OUR LOVELY ANCESTRESSES" BY MARCUS B. HUI SH

RUSKIN, in spite of many assertions to the contrary, was an ardent admirer of womankind in its sanest phases. He could not well have been otherwise at the time when he framed the words which head this article, for he had, just previously, been tended and nursed to health by one of the fairest and most gracious of the sex. But in coupling the sampler with the beauty of its creator he must have unconsciously been influenced by the associations which attract to all antiquities and which attract especially in those in which the personality of its maker survives, as in the case of a



Fig. 1. DRAWN-WORK SAMPLER BY ANNE GOVER, FIRST WIFE OF GOVERNOR J. ENDICOTT.



Fig. 2. SAMPLER BY LOARA STANDISH, DAUGHTER OF THE PILGRIM FATHER, MILES STANDISH, NOW IN PILGRIM HALL, PLYMOUTH, MASS.

sampler during an existence which is prolonged far beyond its artistic deserts.

It would be treason to think otherwise than with affection of the little personalities whose names and works have been handed down through the ages to us by means of such unforeseen links as a trivial task, probably laboriously and irksomely effected, under very uncongenial surroundings. We conjure up a picture similar to George Morland's "A Visit to the Boarding School," which shows the sweetest of little maidens being ushered in by the most urbane of school mistresses to receive congratulations of her handsome and beautifully dressed mother upon a sampler, the production of which has probably formed the most satisfactory part of the term's work.

Thus it comes about that we refuse to invest these relics with any other sense than that they were the product of happy days spent amidst the most congenial surroundings, and this in spite of the very certain knowledge that the majority first saw the light in times when school life was by no means a gay one for young folk, and when doubtless many a female "Dotheboys Hall" existed, and many a child must have echoed the sentiment on the sampler of one Esther Tabor who in 1771 amidst charming adornments of vases of roses and carnations, stitched the line:

"Our days, alas, our mortal days are short and wretched too."

Many a one must have felt the spur contained on that New England sampler of Lydia Cotton when made to embroider the line:

"Persevere. Be not weary in well doing."

For weary indeed must the task have been to some of these mites. Fancy, for instance, that allotted to six little outcasts in "The Orphans' School near Calcutta, in Bengal, East Indies," who by direction of Mistress Parker wrought between them on canvas the longest chapter in the Bible, namely the 119th Psalm, between the 14th February and the 23rd June, 1797, each sampler having in addition as a headpiece a view of the school buildings.

With a limited purse with which to buy and limited space in which to display one's hobbies, the writer (during a long life in which collecting of one sort or another has always occupied his leisure) has had perforce to confine his attention to what have been deemed inconsidered trifles by the man of means. Hence he has had to discover sources which had not been tapped by others and

articles of such a size that the drawer of a cabinet would contain a representative collection. And so in turn he has been early in the field as a collector of Japanese metal work in the shape of the decorations of the now obsolete swords, in lacquer work as evidenced in the same nation's medicine cases (*inro*), in Chinese snuff bottles and in *Tanagra* figurines.

The acquisition of all these have in turn given him probably as great a pleasure as falls to the lot of those whose bottomless purses permit of an outlay of millions of dollars on canvases by Rembrandt, Reynolds or Romney.

It was a chance visit to the Victoria and Albert Museum in London that led to his taking up the quest of samplers. One or two early seventeenth century examples shown there, in the magnificent department of needlework, attracted his attention by a harmonious beauty of color and deftness of stitchery altogether novel and unknown even to one who never passed a bric-a-brac shop at home or abroad without sampling its contents. Research failed to discover any literature on the subject, or more than a single rival possessing any energy in the collecting field. Never had a craft been less exploited. Advertisements in one or two likely journals, a judicious agent or two set to work on the field, and specimens poured in—within a year many hundreds, one might almost say thousands, had passed under his inspection—and from these a collection of two hundred of quality or interest (some of even earlier date than the museum specimens) were acquired. An exhibition projected by well diffused announcements discovered many another good example in private hands but usually held in so much regard as not to be parted with. The exhibition afforded too good an opportunity to be lost for the compilation of a history of these unconsidered trifles, and the writer availed himself of it, the result being a volume which had much popularity and increased largely the interest and value of the minor art of which it treated.

But although the sampler was then widely advertised, all advertisement failed to enlarge one's knowledge or elicit information on one or two points of much interest.

For instance, the sampler was clearly an article in use at a very early date, "in use," for it must not be forgotten that its origin was that of an "example" or pattern from which to learn varieties of needlework, at a time when not only the wardrobe but the fur-



Fig. 3. SAMPLER BEARING NAMES
OF MILES AND ABIGAIL FLEET-
WOOD. DATED 1654.
Property of Mrs. Frank Boyer.



Fig. 4. MAP OF NORTH AMERICA, BY M. A. K.
1738.

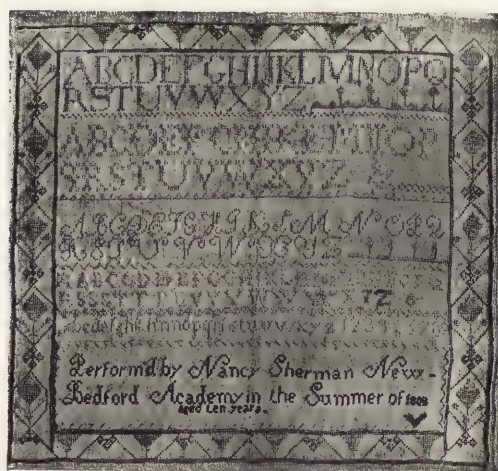


Fig. 5. SAMPLER OF NANCY SHERMAN, DE-
SCENDANT OF PHILIP SHERMAN, FIRST
SECRETARY OF THE COLONY OF
RHODE ISLAND.



nishing of a house, curtains, bed-hangings, caskets, books, purses and even pictures called for its employment. Consequently we find mention of samplers as far back as the fifteenth century. Shakespeare in more than one instance places a sampler in the hands not only of childish Helena and Hermia ("Midsummer Night's Dream, 11 sc. p"), but of grown womanhood, Philomel ("Titus Andronicus, 11 sc. 4"), and that they were valued articles is evidenced by their specific mention in wills as early as the sixteenth century. But this, notwithstanding a dozen years of inquiry and search, failed to produce examples of certain date earlier than the reign of Charles I, by which time the sampler had reached a standard as regards utility, beauty, and design which it has never exceeded, and from which, in fact, it has steadily declined.

It will be of interest to Americans to know that the date of the apogee of the sampler's art is approximately that at which so many well-to-do English families were crossing the Atlantic to seek fortunes in the New World. Hence it is not improbable, but on the contrary it is more than likely, that amongst the cherished possessions they carried with them would be such portable articles as samplers whose utility in the future would naturally occur to every housewife who possessed one. The moralities set forth upon them would moreover render them grateful objects with which at a later date to adorn the old-fashioned houses of the New Englanders.

One may therefore cherish with some assurance a hope that, here and there, there may still be found in the States examples of an early date or earlier than any we possess in the old country.

This hope is the more justifiable as in the interval that elapsed between 1900, the date of the first, and 1913, the date of the second edition of the book on samplers, there came to hand two of exceptional interest, illustrations of which are inserted in the later edition issued in 1913.

The first of these is the sampler (Fig. 1) now in the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts, of Ann Gower (spelled Gover), the first wife of Governor Endicott. She reached Salem in 1628 and died the following year. Her sampler may therefore, assuming that she was a young woman of two or three and twenty when she came over, have been produced as early as 1615, in which case it would antedate any that we know of in England (namely 1643) by nearly twenty years.

The illustration that we give of the sampler shows it to have been essentially one for use, for the upper part consists of an alphabet and the lower of examples of needlework. The upper portion is indistinct but it runs as follows:

ANNE GOVER
STVWXYZ
IKLMNOPQR
AaBCdEFGH

The sampler of Loara Standish (Fig. 2) (now in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth) is also of great historical interest—Loara was the daughter of Miles Standish, the Pilgrim Father who went to Boston in February, 1621, and it bears the inscription:

“Loara Standish is My Name,
Lord Guide My Heart that I may do Thy Will,
And fill my hands with such convenient Skill
As will conduce to Virtue void of Shame
And I will give the Glory to Thy Name.”

If this sampler was worked in America its design was clearly copied from one made in the old country; in fact, it almost mirrors one in the Victoria and Albert Museum of the date of 1696, showing not only how universal and limited were the designs used but for what lengths of time they persisted. Presumption would therefore place this as done before the family emigrated and also as one of an earlier date than any of which we have cognizance here.

In no wise less interesting is that which bears the name of Miles and Abigail Fleetwood (Fig. 3) which has the date 1654 and may well have been worked in America, although again it is wrought on a thoroughly English pattern. In all probability the family was that of the Fleetwood who was Cromwell's General and the legend,

“In prosperity friends will be plenty
But in adversity not one in twenty,”

may have reference to the reverses of fortune which befell him.

This example is additionally instructive and perhaps unique in that it bears the name of husband and wife and so was executed after marriage. It has been held by the descendants of Mrs. Henry Quinay since the middle of the eighteenth century and is now in the possession of Mrs. Frank Boxer of Cambridge, Mass.

Samplers with superscriptions of Schools or Academies are always desirable possessions, especially when, as in the case of Nancy

Sherman (Fig. 5), they give the season of the year where they were made. As regards samplers from Schools, there can be little doubt that those in which maps figure originated for the most part from these sources and that many such which have been produced in the dame schools of New England should be in existence. The production of maps has always been amongst the tasks set to children and their transposition to canvas was by no means uncommon. They therefore rank as emblems of school-girl proficiency and as such may be classed with samplers. Those of American origin should have a special value as showing the extent of territory colonized at the date when each was produced. A specimen of these (Fig. 4), originally in the writer's collection, worked in 1788 illustrates how much and how little atlases furnished to English schools at that date. The contour of the United States is fairly correct, but that of the various Territories suggests the ruling of lines across the country.

We have necessarily only been able to touch the fringe of the subject or to illustrate in more than a very perfunctory manner the numerous examples of home production which are to be found in the United States. But we believe that to many it may open up an unexpected treasury of interest and that what at first sight would appear to be merely the nursery achievements of small children may become a history full of intimate peeps into the manners and customs of past centuries. Whether this be so or not, the touch of nature that reaches us from the wise saws and moral sentences that these primitive pieces of needlework hand down to us shows how much akin we are on either side of the Atlantic.

TURNER'S "WINCHESTER CROSS" · BY W. ROBERTS

ONE of the most interesting and important of J. M. W. Turner's early oil pictures in the United States is the "Winchester Cross," in Mr. John G. Johnson's fine collection at Philadelphia. The beautiful Cross itself has attracted thousands of Americans and other pilgrims of the past and present generation to the ancient city, and will continue to do so so long as our ancient monuments remain. Picturesque in its surroundings, this Cross has formed a favorite subject with artists for two centuries, but it was Turner who first introduced what may be called a "story" into the picture.

Through the recent publication of Mr. A. J. Finberg's "Com-

plete Inventory of the Drawings of the Turner Bequest," we are able to fix the approximate date of the picture. With Turner, as with most other artists of his time, it was the custom to wander either abroad or at home during the summer and autumn months, in search of inspiration, sometimes with and at others without any definite objective. In 1795 Turner, then a young man of twenty, paid a visit to the Isle of Wight, and it is in the Sketch Book of this excursion, fully described by Mr. Finberg in his "Inventory," that we have a number of drawings made *en route*. The journey was apparently not made without an incentive, for in the Sketch Book (the leaves of which bear the watermark of 1794) he has entered a number of commissions which he had received for drawings of certain places. A number are for "Mr. Landseer," two of Salisbury Cathedral were for Sir Richard Hoare, the great Wiltshire antiquary and collector, but, above all, one was of Winchester Cross for a Mr. Alexander. Turner made two drawings of this ancient monument; one is still in the original Sketch Book, and the other, evidently based upon this, was engraved in 1800, and then disappeared until it was lent to the Old Masters Exhibition at Burlington House, London, in 1887, No. 34, by the late Mr. J. Edward Taylor, and was presented by him to the Manchester Whitworth Institute.

The drawing was engraved in line on copper, $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $8\frac{1}{4}$ in., by J. Powell, and published on July 30, 1800, by William Alexander of 42 Newman Street, and J. Powell of 6 Old Cavendish Street—the William Alexander is evidently the "Mr. Alexander" who, as we have seen, commissioned the drawing. It is probable that Turner did not make the finished drawing until two or three years after he had visited Winchester in 1795, and there is no evidence in his voluminous sketch books that he ever again visited the place. This little engraving has always been somewhat of a puzzle; it was obviously intended as a book-illustration, but even the greatest living authority on the subject of Turner engravings, Mr. W. G. Rawlinson, has not been able to discover for what publication it was intended.

There are two other features in connection with this engraving of "Winchester Cross" which, as they have never yet been pointed out, may be briefly dwelt upon here. The Mr. Alexander who commissioned the drawing and who was the joint-publisher



J. M. W. TURNER: WINCHESTER CROSS.
(Engraved from the Drawing.)



J. M. W. TURNER: WINCHESTER CROSS.
(Oil Painting.)
Collection of Mr. John G. Johnson, Philadelphia.



of the engraving, was William Alexander (1767—1816) who accompanied Lord Macartney's mission to China as water color draughtsman, and who, in 1802, was teacher of drawing at the Royal Military College at Great Marlow, and, in 1808, assistant keeper of antiquities at the British Museum; he exhibited at the Royal Academy from 1795 to 1804. The engraver and joint publisher, John Powell, was also a water color artist, and an exhibitor mostly of views of the Isle of Wight and elsewhere, at the Royal Academy, from 1796 to 1833. Their exact identities have been established by consulting the Royal Academy Catalogues, in which their respective addresses agree with those which appear on the engraved plate.

The drawing is architectural rather than pictorial, as were most of Turner's drawings at this period, when he was to some extent influenced by his friend, Thomas Girtin; he was probably asked to make a correct drawing of the Cross, and he did so. Having done this, after a year or two he painted a picture of the same monument and its surroundings to please himself, and this picture clearly proves that Turner could handle a group of figures as cleverly and tell a story as well as the most accepted masters of the day, such as George Morland or Francis Wheatley. We see here very little of Girtin's influence, whilst, as was so well said in the *Burlington Magazine* of December, 1905 (where the picture was first published), "The treatment of the red, blue and white of the soldier's uniform is worthy of Reynolds himself," and "the passages of still life are handled with the breadth and solidity which recall Chardin."

In the engraved drawing the Cross occupies the center of the picture, and stands out at the entrance of a small court; on the right is a shop over which is written "Savage, Grocer"; several figures are standing and sitting round the Cross. Comparing this with the oil painting it will be at once seen that Turner has, in the latter, allowed his wonderful imagination full play. Into some of his earlier pictures he has thrown an air of romance, but into "Winchester Cross" he has infused an air of what might be called romantic reality. He is here a rival of the Morlands and Wheatleys of his day, with their popular scenes of soldier life. The English nation was more or less at war with all Europe, and the soldier and sailor were the popular heroes. For once young Turner allowed himself to go with the tide, and produced a picture which would appeal to the popular imagination. The red-coated soldier with his "busby"

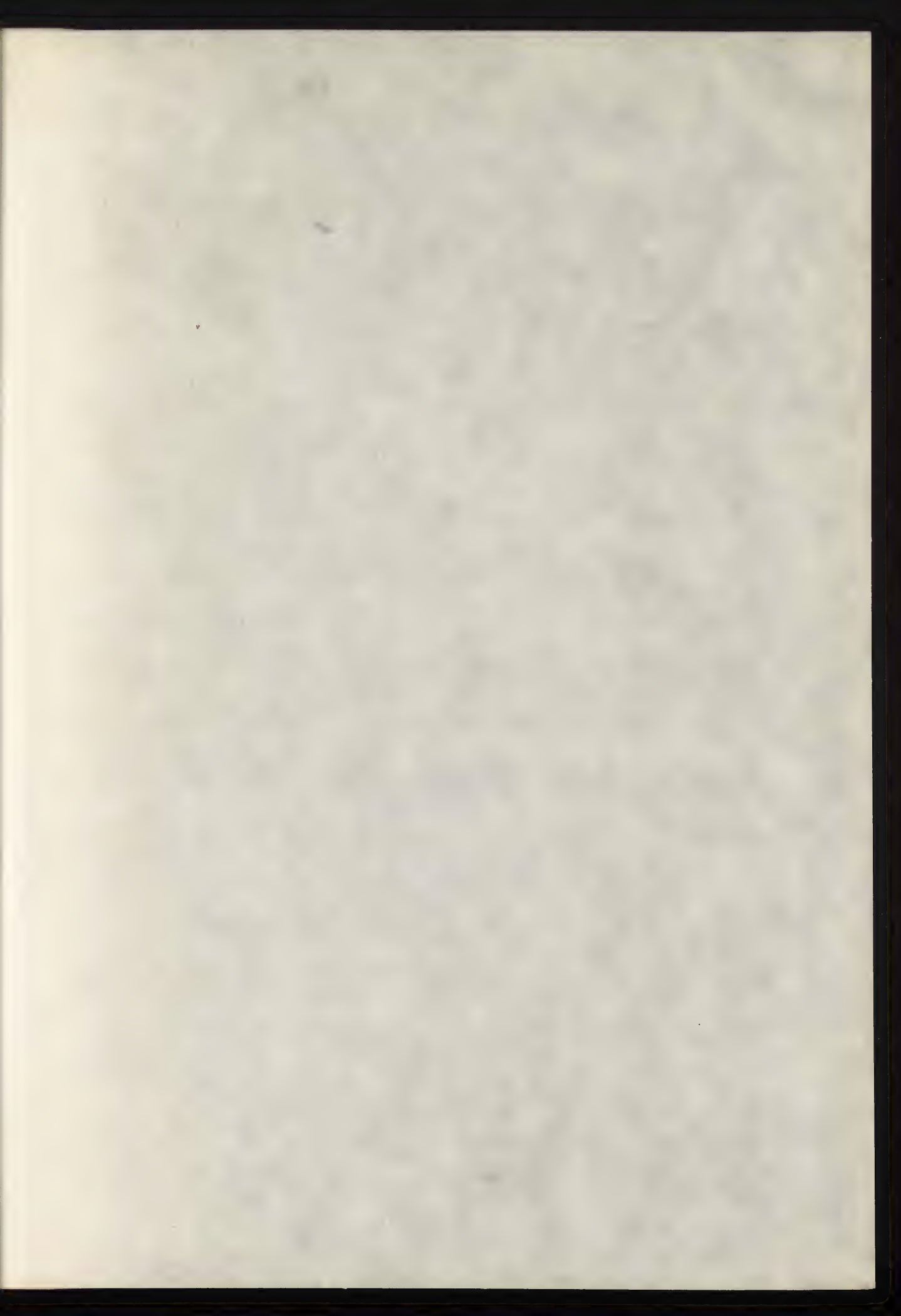
hat is bidding farewell to a woman who is weeping on his breast, whilst a drummer is conversing with a girl who has set down her pails of water. Various other persons scattered about are watching the little drama of good-bye. The fine old Cross is a subordinate feature in the story.

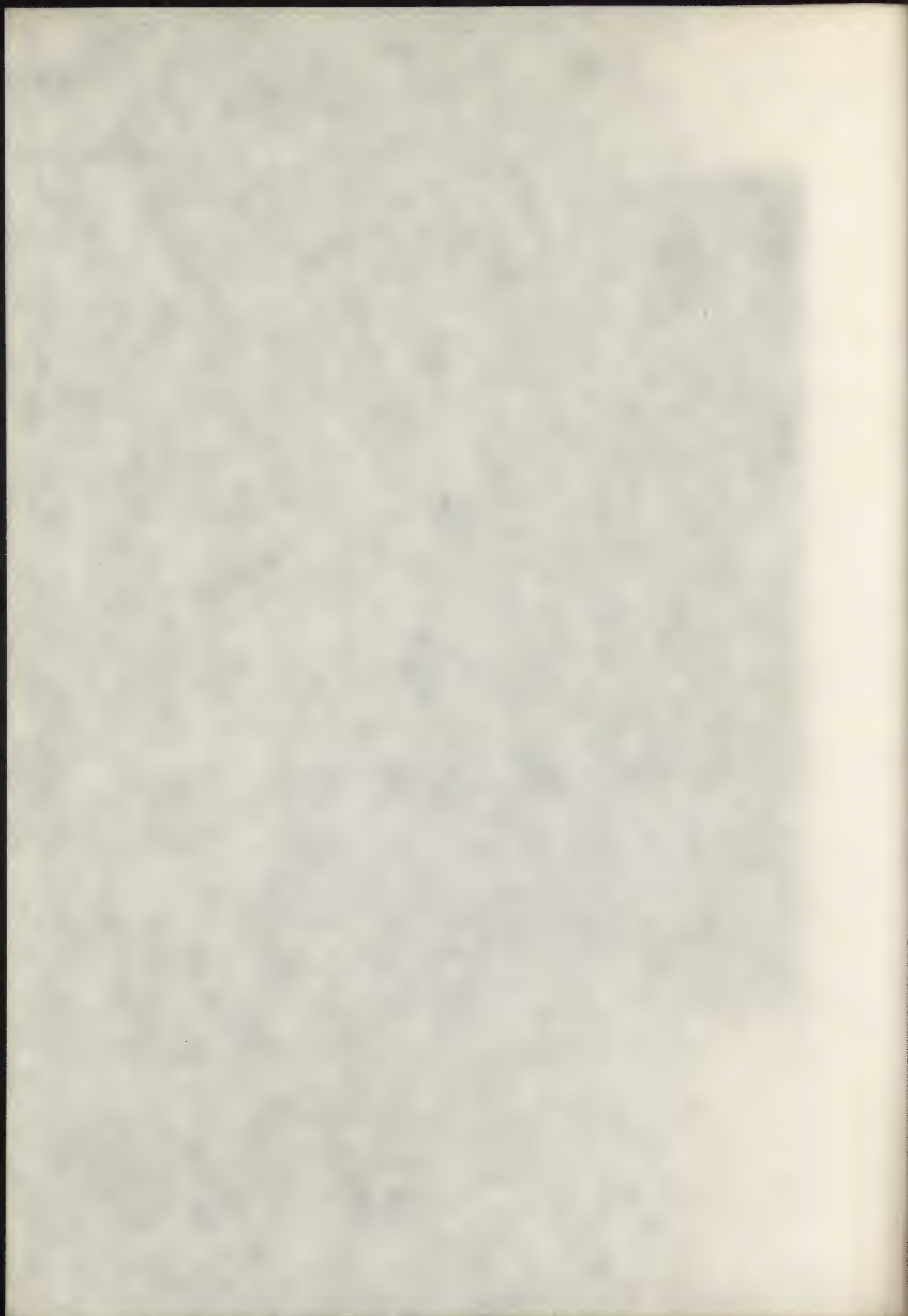
As already stated many artists painted and sketched the Cross; one of the best was done by C. F. Sargent for *The London Journal* of 1851, and may be compared with that of Turner done over half a century previously. The ancient stone crosses of England have formed the subject of many books and learned disquisitions. Like nearly all our ancient buildings, the "Butter Cross," as it is locally called, has suffered much from the ravages of time and the still more destructive propensities of generations of vandals. It was carefully restored in 1865. It dates from about the middle of the fifteenth century, and is supposed to have been erected in memory of St. Lawrence, standing as it does not only in the parish but close to the church dedicated to that saint, and the mother church of Winchester. A minutely detailed description of the cross, of considerable value to architects, will be found in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of 1811, Part II, pages 508-9, and the details of the restorations were published in the same magazine in 1865, Part II, p. 305.





HOLBEIN : PORTRAIT OF THOMAS CROMWELL
COLLECTION OF MR. HENRY CLAY FRICK





ART IN AMERICA · AN ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE · VOLUME III NUMBER IV · JUNE MCMXV

VENETIAN PAINTINGS IN THE UNITED STATES : PART THREE · BY BERNHARD BERENSON

WE have now dealt with that branch of Venetian painting which clung to Byzantine craftsmanship even after it had deserted the more obvious characteristics of Byzantine art. But before we proceed to study the main current of Quattrocento painting in Venice—almost wholly derived, as it was, from Continental Italian sources—it will be convenient to give our attention to an infiltration from Sicily, which had, according to early contemporary accounts, no small effect upon the art of the Island City. Unfortunately it is not easy to measure this influence now. The epoch-making masterpieces that Antonello da Messina left in Venice have disappeared, and with them the chief documents for the study of the changes, amounting almost to a revolution, that were traced to his visit. It would be extremely interesting to take the one course remaining open and to examine minutely the residuum that is left over in Venetian painting after all that the Vivarini and the Bellini contributed had been deducted, and to compare this residuum with the indisputable works of Antonello and his pupils and followers. The solution of few problems in Italian art would contribute more illuminating results, provided it were undertaken by a scholar of long experience, armed with inexhaustible patience and endless leisure.

Happily we are not at this juncture called upon to be put to the proof. Our humbler task is to study the pictures of the great Sicilian master that have come over to America, as well as those of his pupils and followers and obvious imitators, whether Sicilian, Venetian or South Italian.

I.

Antonello himself is represented in America by two busts, one in the Johnson and the other in the Altman Collection. Mr. John G. Johnson's "Portrait" (Fig. 1) is already well known. It repre-

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sents a full-fleshed, broad-faced, smooth-shaven young man, with strong nose and sensitive, sensual, determined mouth, who looks out at us with agreeable curiosity, and does not resent being looked at in return. But, as in nearly all the portraiture of the Quattrocento—as, indeed, in nearly all great portraiture of any time—the sitter here makes no appeal for admiration or sympathy. He is there for you to study; and if he has secrets, he is not secretive; pay out line enough to plumb him, and he will not seek to elude you.

So much for the human presentment. Plastically, the planes could scarcely be larger and simpler, or the contour more supple. With the drapery falling down from the folded cloth cap, Antonello produces the effect of conical mass which he constantly strove for, and realized so impressively in Mr. Robert Benson's "Madonna" and in the "Virgin Annunciate" at Munich. Indeed, all that is most characteristic of the great Sicilian, in his brief years of complete realization, is amply revealed by this powerful head.

The Altman "Portrait" (Fig. 2) is perhaps more attractive. It is of a youth with a Luinesque face and a look and smile saved from being like Luini's by the sobriety and self-restraint of the painter. It is probably only the resistance a pretty face like this opposes to artistic values that accounts for the slight inferiority of this painting to Mr. Johnson's picture.

As it is less well known, it may not be amiss to place it in line with Antonello's other works. The nose is drawn and modelled as in the Louvre and Borghese "Heads," and the mouth as in the Cefalù "Portrait," the Benson "Madonna" and the Munich "Virgin Annunciate." The likeness in contour and plastic treatment to the Johnson "Head" need not be insisted on. From all these indications, we can be fairly certain that the Altman "Portrait" dates from Antonello's maturest period. We get further support for this view from the closer resemblance in the hair to the so-called "Humanist" of the Milan Castello (certainly a late picture) than to any other of Antonello's portraits, as well as from the curious Luinesque aspect of the sitter. Is it too fanciful to suppose that this pretty type of face really existed in the Milan of that time, before Leonardo went there, and before Luini was born? If the youth were Milanese, then we could assume that he sat for Antonello during the artist's sojourn in Milan in 1476.



Fig. 1. ANTONELLO DA MESSINA: PORTRAIT.
Collection of Mr. John G. Johnson, Philadelphia.



Fig. 2. ANTONELLO DA MESSINA: PORTRAIT.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Altman Collection.

II.

Antonello, while great in portraiture, was no less great in composition. Much as we admire his heads, we admire even more such subjects as the Syracuse "Annunciation," the Antwerp "Crucifixion," the Correr "*Pietà*" and the National Gallery "St. Jerome." Like the portraits, they hold the attention by the inexhaustible stimulus of the essential art values, and they add to these, symphonic effects of orchestration, as it were, that relax and repose. Fortunate should we be if one of these rare treasures were to be enjoyed on this side of the Atlantic. But it is not the case. The one composition ascribed to him, Mr. Frick's "*Pietà*" (Fig. 3) (usually exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum), is not by him or by any other Italian. It is almost certainly, as MM. Hulin and Vitry declared years ago,¹ by a Provençal painter. Seeing, however, that Mr. Frick's picture has slipped into the new Murray edition of Crowe and Cavalcaselle as by Antonello, so that the authority of that time-honoured but seldom trustworthy guide may impose upon students, it will be worth while to discuss the attribution here.

Let us, to begin with, make ample acknowledgment to the fascination of this "*Pietà*." It has a poetry and a pathos, a restraint and a distinction that place it among the masterpieces of imaginative art. The painter, knowing the emotional effect produced by a silhouetted horizon seen at a certain distance, has used it as an enveloping background for the dominant masses, behind which he places huddled and hushed figures that add to the sense of awe and suspense. The shaft of the central Cross dominates the horizon, its mysterious incompleteness accentuating the touching humanity of the Magdalen fondling the hair thrown back from the head of the dead Christ, and the other crouching Mary sobbing in her close-wrapped cloak. The great sheet that extends under the folds of His Mother's mantle carries and unites all the figures, except that of the kneeling Donor, who remains of purpose outside the group as a piteous and devout spectator. No doubt there is an insistent though vague perfume of Venice in this picture. Close analysis reduces it, in any definite form, to something as little as the recollection, in the figure of the Magdalen, of the Blessed Virgin in Bellini's great Brera "*Pietà*." True, the masterful combination of figures,

¹ Hulin in "Catalogue Critique" of Bruges Exhibition, 1902 (No. 32, p. 9). Vitry in *Les Arts*, April, 1904, p. 42. In the catalogue of the "Primitifs Français" exhibition of 1904 (p. 40, No. 84), Bouchot wrote that it might be the work of a Fleming painting at the foot of the Alps.

buildings and landscape to produce a definite emotional appeal is very Venetian, although of a later date than the probable one of this picture, for it only comes to completion with Giorgione.

It was a tradition to think of Antonello da Messina directly we felt a something Venetian in a Quattrocento work of Northern character; but how much that is specifically and solely Antonello's does the Frick "*Pietà*" contain? The answer is "Nothing at all," and I will now attempt to justify this answer.

In the first place, Antonello was not an imaginative artist. As was the case with Piero della Francesca and Velasquez, his greatness consisted in presenting objects more directly, more penetratingly, more connectedly and more completely than we could see them for ourselves, and not in making a dramatic or moving arrangement of his vision that might make a further appeal to our emotions. He was more bent upon extracting the corporeal than the spiritual significance of things, and while he at times, and not very successfully (as in the "*Ecce Homo*" at Piacenza, and the other in Baron Schickler's Collection), attempted to portray the emotion of others, he invariably refrained from conveying his own or trying directly to affect ours. Call to mind his Antwerp "*Crucifixion*." The crucified figures to right and left, although suggested by Franco-Flemish models intended to evoke a strong emotional response, have in his hands become the occasion for the painting of firm, supple, youthful nudes in attitudes singularly suited to display tactile values and movement. The Mother of Our Lord and the Beloved Disciple appeal for no sympathy in their grief. Our Lord on the Cross has none of the tender and exquisite pathos of Mr. Frick's Dead Christ. The landscape does not transport us, but rather, like all objective works of art, unobtrusively draws us into itself. And, with differences, the same is true of the London "*Crucifixion*," and even of the ruined but sublimely designed "*Pietà*" in the Correr Museum at Venice.

In other terms, the music of Mr. Frick's picture is more equivalent to Beethoven than to Bach. Closer analysis makes the distinction clearer. In Antonello the feeling for tactile values is almost at its highest, while in this work it is indifferent and far inferior to the imaginative conception. It is almost absurd to think of Antonello in the presence of such dubious drawing and petty planes as we find in the faces here, the Madonna's in particular. It is no less difficult to recognize in the stiff, dry nude, with its trivial realism and ugly extremities, the Antonello who painted the almost classically plastic



FIG. 3. PROVENÇAL: PIETÀ.
Collection of Mr. Henry Clay Frick, New York.





FIG. 4. PALERMITAN FOLLOWER OF ANTONELLO DA MESSINA:
 PORTRAIT OF A LADY REPRESENTED AS S. ROSALIE OF PALERMO.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.



FIG. 5. PALERMITAN FOLLOWER OF ANTONELLO DA MESSINA: MADONNA
 AND CHILD.
Salting Bequest, National Gallery, London.



"St. Sebastians" at Dresden and Bergamo, or the crucified figures at Antwerp. Furthermore, in no period of his career as it is known to us was Antonello so Northern, not even in his National Gallery "Head of Christ," his earliest extant work. There, he is as Flemish in type as he is in technique, but the plastic sense and the touch remain Italian—*italianissimo*.

Nor is the detail in Mr. Frick's panel specifically Antonellesque, nor, even, in the last analysis, Italian. The folds of the sheet and of the Virgin's mantle come nearest to Antonello, but how unfunctional they are compared with his. The superficial likeness is due to the fact that both painters have taken their system of draperies from common Northern tradition; but Antonello never fails to Italianize them and to impart to them the quality of his firm, purposeful drawing. The pendent figures upon the crosses may be accounted for by the same common traditional origin. The huddled weeping woman, on the other hand, is surely a daughter of some Burgundian *pleureuse*, and the mountain landscape I have seen in many a picture in the Southeast of France. As for the town, with its steep Gothic church, I cannot believe an unprejudiced and instructed eye would see in it an Italian invention.

On the other hand, this masterpiece of imaginative art does undeniably exhale a perfume of Italy. Such Italianism was not infrequent in Provence and the Niçois. How Sienese and close to Sassetta was Jacques Durandi, and how reminiscent of Venice was the later and inferior Antoine Ronzen. So everything brings us back to the conclusion already arrived at by M. Hulin and M. Vitry, than whom Flemish and French Quattrocento paintings have no more able students. They rightly pointed to a "Nativity with Bishop and Donor" at Vignon as a work of closely similar origin.¹

III.

I suspect that a picture like Mr. Frick's would never have been attributed to Antonello if it had not been the common assumption that he was all but a Fleming who happened to be working in Italy. And it is to be feared that such errors will keep reappearing until the exact origins of Antonello and his entire chronology can be firmly established. Documents found in Sicily have already aided us unexpectedly with most important information; saving us also

¹ See *Les Arts*, April, 1904, p. 37. There, on the two next pages but one, are reproduced two French "*Pietàs*" which have significant points of contact with Mr. Frick's.

from a cataract of misinformation just then poured out by other documents found at Venice. Although obviously not applicable, the latter, had they been taken at their first valuation and not relegated to their proper place by other information, would have thwarted all efforts to set the Antonello problem straight.¹ Sicilian scholars may again succeed in discovering archives which will still further help us out. Much, too, may be expected from a more systematic study than has yet been made of Sicilian painting during the whole fifteenth century. And, as this, like all South Italian painting, was subjected to Aragonese influence, we may hope to get considerable assistance from the study of Catalonian painting, as well as the painting of Sardinia, which it so largely influenced, and of Provençal art, to which it was so closely related.

A picture of the kind (Fig. 4) which may ultimately serve such studies is to be seen in Mr. Walters' Collection at Baltimore. It is the bust of a thoughtful young woman—perhaps of one just deceased—represented as a female saint intent upon her prayer-book. Two angels hold a jewelled crown over her blond head, and this crown is filled with roses. The colouring is rich, saturated and harmonious, with something of the juiciness of a Van Eyck.

Fortunately, another picture by the same hand is in existence, and one that helps to explain their origin. It is a "Madonna" (Fig. 5) that passed with the Salting Collection to the National Gallery. Here we have a much more massive, more powerful human type, but in other respects the two pictures are as close to each other as possible while remaining independent creations. As both are here reproduced, I shall not insult the student's intelligence by insisting on the identity of pictorial purpose and craftsmanship in both. They betray the spirit and handiwork of a painter of solid attainments and vigorous grasp, reinforced, perhaps, by a certain provincial self-sufficiency.

When the Salting picture first appeared, its mixture of Italian and Flemish traits, and its somewhat rustic heartiness, led many critics to regard it as by a Catalan, and a Catalan working in Sicily. Since the rediscovery of Antonello's "Annunciation" (now at Syracuse) and the publication of Mr. Benson's "Madonna" by Mr. Borrenius as a work of Jacopo, Antonello's son, and by myself as An-

¹ La Corte-Cailler, "Antonello da Messina," 1903. Di Marzo, "Di Antonello da Messina," etc., 1903; "Nuovi Studi su Antonello," 1905. Dr. Ludwig, "Antonello da Messina und deutsche niederlandische Künstler in Venedig," 1902.



Fig. 6. ANTONIO DE SALIBA (?): MADONNA ENTHRONED.
Collection of Mr. Grenville L. Winthrop, New York.



tonello da Messina's own¹ there can be no further question that the Salting "Madonna" was painted in Sicily by some one, no matter from whence, who was acquainted with the work of Antonello. For not only in conception, but in treatment as well, we see the close relationship with the great master, and with the Benson "Madonna" in particular.

The Walters picture would seem the later of the two by a short interval, for it is at once less frankly "primitive" and farther away from Antonello. The fact that it represents a saint whom angels are crowning with roses,² intended probably to be St. Rosalie, the Patroness of Palermo, make it likely that the painter was connected with that capital. The technique, too, with its richer medium, leads one to a school closer to Catalonia than was Messina, and thus again to Palermo. The author of this and the Salting panel was probably an artist of that town who, in these two works, shows close contact with Antonello. For the present we can say no more. But, as no other of Antonello's Sicilian followers has anything like the vigour and accomplishment displayed by this artist, it were highly desirable to know more about him. It is a wish that can be realized only by discovering further works by the same hand.³

IV.

I am not acquainted with any other painting which, while certainly not by Antonello, comes as close to him as the small "Madonna Enthroned" (Fig. 6) belonging to Mr. Grenville Winthrop of New York. She sits in the foreground of a park-like landscape, on a spacious throne decorated with sphinxes, and holds little flowers on the flat palm of her hand. The Child on her knee pays no attention to her offering, but blesses with His right hand.

The proximity of the figure to Antonello's "Madonna" of 1473 is evident. The Virgin's open hand, the silhouette of the spreading folds, the platform itself—although less simple, less stiff, if you will—were, in the one, obviously suggested by the other. Her halo has the minute particularities of the halo of "St. Gregory" out of the same Polyptych. The Child, on the other hand, although par-

¹ *Rassegna d'Arte*, June, 1912; *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, March, 1913. See also Mr. Benson's admirable catalogue of his own collection.

² The whole motif is taken over from Antonello's "Madonna" of 1473 at Messina, and this head may represent a "Virgin Annunciate" crowned with roses. It is a most unlikely but not an impossible subject.

³ In the collection of Mr. John G. Johnson there is a "Madonna" (No. 161) by an unknown Sicilian master who resembles Antonio da Palermo.

taking of the same movement, is closer to the one in the Antonellesque "Madonna"¹ at Vienna, or to the odiously affected one in Jacopo d'Antonello's "Madonna" at Bergamo.

Although reminiscent of the "Madonna" of 1473, Mr. Winthrop's is clearly of somewhat later date. Except very faintly, in the shape of the platform, there is no trace of Gothic in the architectural forms, which, on the contrary, are elaborately Renaissance. The folds have lost their Flemish angularity and are rounder. The kerchief is worn as in Mr. Walters' "St. Rosalie" and its companion "Madonna" in the National Gallery.

We thus have in Mr. Winthrop's "Madonna" a little masterpiece of distinct Antonellesque inspiration, and it would be interesting to discover its author. If Prof. Toesca had not done Antonello's son, Jacopo, such a bad turn as proving him to be the author of a picture which shows him up as a simpering and affected submediocrity, one would naturally think of him.² But one dare not assume that, even after the lapse of ten or twelve years, the painter of a picture so simple and direct as Mr. Winthrop's could have declined to the dulcified and mannered "Madonna" at Bergamo. Possibly it was painted by some quite unknown painter, but we cannot resist the temptation to see whether another close follower of Antonello, his nephew, Antonio or Antonello de Saliba, could not have been its author.

Although Antonio de Saliba was, as documents state, the pupil of the great Antonello's son, Jacopo, who seems to have done nothing of consequence but transmit his father's influence, we find little in de Saliba's works that does not go back to Antonello himself or to the great Venetians of his time. He not only imitated Antonello

¹ This important work (Imperial Gallery, No. 89) was ascribed by me twenty-five years ago to Boccaccio Boccaccino. When publishing the "North Italian Painters," I inserted it with a question mark into the list of the "Pseudo-Boccaccino's" paintings. Directly afterwards I turned back, for the first time after twenty years, to the systematic and continuous study of the Venetians, and I soon perceived that this picture was intimately related to Antonello. As it was in lamentable condition, and had, indeed, been cut down even since it was copied by Teniers, I made every effort, before pronouncing an opinion upon it, to have it properly restored; but I fear that this may not be done soon under the present unfortunate circumstances. I may as well confess here and now to a faint hope that a picture which produces in ruin such an impression, and which entered the collection of the Archduke Leopold as a Bellini, i.e., as a Quattrocento picture from Venice of great value, may turn out to be a fragment of Antonello's famous S. Cassiano Altarpiece. Only the most serious students of Italian art can appreciate what a chasm the disappearance of that epoch-making work made in our history of Venetian painting, and how invaluable any attempt to fill it would be. Meanwhile Dr. Borenius published, in May, 1913, in the *Burlington Magazine*, his own independent conclusions regarding the Vienna picture, pointing out its probable affinities with Antonello's lost masterpiece.

² *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1911, p. 16. In the Bergamo Gallery: signed and dated 1490. In the inscription Jacopo boasts of being the son of a more than human painter, which is a tactful way of confessing that he knew his own place.



Fig. 7. ANTONIO DE SALIBA: MADONNA.
Collection of the late Theodore M. Davis, Newport, R. I.



Fig. 8. SOUTH ITALIAN: MADONNA.
Collection of Mr. Dan Fellows Platt, Englewood, N. J.



deliberately and closely, as in the Vienna "*Pietà*," but, as in the "Virgin Annunciate" of Venice, he copied him outright.

Comparison with other works undisputably by Antonio de Saliba—the "Madonnas" of Catania (1497), of Catanzaro (1508), of Spoleto, of Berlin (about 1488), of the Davis Collection at Newport (about the same date)—does not preclude the possibility that Mr. Winthrop's is an earlier work by the same hand. Neither the types nor the draperies, nor, least of all, the landscape, would oppose such a conclusion. A significant point in favour is the treatment of the wings of the sphinxes who form the supporting arms of the throne. As in de Saliba's "*Pietà*" at Vienna, these are painted with much display of feathers, and are not so generalized as in Antonello's Correr "*Pietà*" or in his "Announcing Angels" at Messina and at Syracuse. I may add that Mr. Winthrop's panel, when I first saw it, made on me a strong impression of being by de Saliba, and that I have learned to give, I venture to confess, a certain value to first and spontaneous impressions, as they generally represent almost unconscious and hence unprejudiced rapid syntheses of buried memories.

I am thus inclined to assume, with certain reserves, that this interesting and attractive panel was painted by Antonio de Saliba soon after the one in the Collection of the Princess Castellani Manganelli at Ragusa Inferiore in Sicily, and some years before the "Madonna of the Rosary" of 1489, which we hope was not destroyed by the last earthquake at Messina.

V.

A work by de Saliba of unquestionable authenticity, although not signed, is the "Madonna" (Fig. 7) already referred to in the collection of the late Theodore M. Davis, of Newport, R. I. Our Lady, an imposing, pyramidal mass towering over the horizon, worships the Child, who lies naked on a parapet playing at once with His coral amulet and the folds of her dress. She is more impressive than any other of this painter's Madonnas, thanks to a happy harmony of the Antonellesque sense for geometrical bulk with the Bellinesque feeling for the spiritually significant. Even the Berlin "Madonna" shows a decline from this height.

The Davis' "Madonna" would thus seem to have been the fruit of de Saliba's earliest maturity, following upon his first contact with Venice. If the Ragusa picture be his, and Mr. Winthrop's, these

betray no certain trace of Venetian influence. Here, on the contrary, it is manifest, although not so obvious as in the Berlin "Madonna," which, indeed, I suspect of being a free copy of a lost Bellini.

Mr. Robert Minturn, of New York, has a "Madonna," with regard to the authorship of which I am still in doubt. It was reproduced and briefly discussed in the *Rassegna d'Arte* for April, 1913, and there the opinion was expressed that, while bearing considerable resemblance to the one of the Davis Collection just presented, it was quite likely a more purely Bellinesque work.

On the other hand, the "Holy Face" in Mr. Johnson's Collection at Philadelphia is without a doubt Messinese, and I am inclined to give it to de Saliba, while admitting the possibility that it may be by his teacher and cousin, Jacopo. The curious will find it reproduced and discussed in Mr. Johnson's Catalogue.

VI.

A picture of large pattern and vigorous colouring (Fig. 8) in the collection of Mr. D. F. Platt, at Englewood, N. J., has always made on me the impression of being South Italian. My excuse for speaking of it here is that no South Italian picture painted between about 1480 and 1520 is entirely free from Antonellesque influence. Often enough it is hard to isolate and extract, but it is always there. And that is the case with Mr. Platt's "Madonna."

She sits in front of a parapet before a curtain, to right and left of which appears a rich landscape with fern-like trees. For one who cannot get the effect of the original, perhaps the most noticeable thing in this panel is its tendency to resolve itself into a series of three widening curves, containing the head, the shoulders and the mantle. This obviously geometrical tendency is of itself suggestive of Antonello and is paralleled in the Antonellesque "Madonna Enthroned" in the Cathedral at Syracuse. (Photo. Alinari 33342.) The hood resembles the one worn by Mr. Walters' "St. Rosalie." The billowing draperies, too, remind me of the "Announcing Angel" in Antonello's Polyptych at Messina, as well as of Salvo d'Antonio's "Dormition of the Virgin" and Rinaldo Quattarero's "Peter and Paul" at Palermo. Finally the luxuriance and featheriness of the landscape are to me distinctly Neapolitan.

By other critics, however, this picture has been ascribed to the Lombard school, and even to Boltraffio. No doubt the face has a



Fig. 9. ANTONIO SOLARIO: MADONNA AND SAINTS.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.



Fig. 10. FILIPPO MAZZOLA: MADONNA WITH JEROME AND A FRANCISCAN SAINT.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

certain likeness to Boltraffio's, and one who was determined to have the panel Lombard would find a resemblance in the draperies to Bramantino's. These I have already accounted for as Antonellesque, being ultimately, like Bramantino's, of Flemish origin, but the face, although heavier, is closer to the "Pseudo-Boccaccino's" (as, for instance, in the Murano Altarpiece) than to the type of any other Lombard, while, curiously enough, neither the draperies nor the landscape are unlike his. The Child, on the other hand, sturdy in frame, with His arms crossed over His chest, is unlike any pure Lombard Child that I can recall, but would be quite at home in Venice or the Romagna.¹

We may compromise and conclude that the author of Mr. Platt's picture was a painter of Antonellesque derivation, who in Venice came under the influence of the "Pseudo-Boccaccino" (Giovanni Antonio da Lodi), and, to make good measure, we may add that he may have been acquainted with Solario as well.

VII.

There happens to be a painter whose training was the exact opposite of the one I have imagined for the author of Mr. Platt's "Madonna." Instead of beginning in the South and ending in Venice, Antonio Solario began at Venice and ended in the South. He is but an asteroid recently presented to view. When this little luminary was first noticed, the spectroscope—if one may continue the astronomical metaphor—seemed to show the same rays as Andrea Solario, and one was inclined to believe that they were one and the same. But more and more works by this hand kept appearing, and finally Ettore Modigliani's study, published in the *Bollettino d'Arte* for December, 1907, convincingly showed that we had to do with a personality distinct from Andrea's. We could even trace his wanderings, from Venice to the March of Ancona, and thence to Naples, where he was the painter in chief of the fascinating, if unequal, series of frescoes in the cloister of SS. Severino e Sosio. His end is unknown.

In the Leuchtenberg "Madonna" acquired by Mr. Wertheimer, sold to the late Mr. Salting, and now in the National Gallery, and in the even earlier "Nativity" ceded by Dr. J. P. Richter to Herr Fritz von Gans of Frankfort, Antonio is so close to the Venetian

¹ He recurs in the "Pseudo-Boccaccino," who was more than half Venetian and strongly influenced by Antonello and Alvise Vivarini.

phase of his famous namesake, Andrea, that one might without disgrace, seeing the still fragmentary state of our knowledge, have failed to conclude that they were separate personalities. But other works, even apart from the consideration that they are signed, reveal the same artist drawing farther and farther away from Andrea, and show an increasingly Venetian character, while Andrea himself, as we know, grew more and more Lombard. In his travels South, Antonio—an artist, by the way, inferior to Andrea, of far more uncertain style and feebler attainments—picked up Romagnol and Umbrian traits, while at Naples a certain Southern lethargy invaded his never too alert spirit. There, too, he reverted to those Antonellesque influences from which his beginnings were not free, whether these were drawn from direct study of the great Sicilian himself, or from contact with the two Venetianized Lombards, Andrea Solario and the "Pseudo-Boccaccino," who surely inspired and perhaps accomplished his initiation. For these reasons he comes into our present survey.

The collection of Mr. Walters contains an important work of his (Fig. 9). It is an oblong panel wherein may be seen the Holy Child sitting on an inlaid casket resting on a pedestal, while He plays with a bird. His Mother supports Him, and a lady presents the infant Baptist, who clutches at His thigh. On the left is an elderly man represented as a pilgrim. The background consists of a curtain to left and a landscape to right. The woman and man are probably portraits. Not only are they individualized enough to be portraits, but the painter, although giving them in the composition the importance of saints, has left them without haloes.

One is hardly called upon to demonstrate that this panel is by Antonio Solario, for it is obvious to those who are acquainted with the Leuchtenberg "Madonna," now in the National Gallery, and the somewhat later one in the Naples Museum. With all the differences, the types retain the same Venetian features, and the landscape the same Lombard character. The Child is taken over with as little change as the difference of subject will permit from Bellini's "Presentation of the Holy Child in the Temple." These affinities, or borrowings, are what we expect from Antonio. The bird, too, attached to a string, occurs in the Leuchtenberg "Madonna," and is derived from a Bellinesque picture of which we have several variants. This picture of ours is, however, later than that, and than the Naples one, both of which we may confidently place before An-

tonio's sojourn in the Marches. Mr. Walters' painting is not only more largely but much more carelessly handled, as is the case with Antonio's frescoes at Naples, certainly his latest works. It can, moreover, be dated with fair proximity as toward 1511.

A brief paragraph must be devoted to this question of dates, as Antonio's chronology has not yet been carefully looked into, and without a proper chronology we can have no trustworthy connoisseurship and no history worth the name.

There exists in the Ambrosiana at Milan a signed work by Antonio, dated 1508, which is so obviously an imitation of his namesake, Andrea,¹ that one may assume a renewed contact between them. And, as Antonio was in the Marches till 1506, and Andrea, to our knowledge, never went there, we may assume that they met at Milan. This Ambrosiana "Head of the Baptist on a Charger" differs, quality apart, in one striking respect from Andrea's. It is more bejeweled, as one might expect from an artist subjected to provincial and Southern taste.² Now we discover a similar jeweled charger in a picture in the Doria Gallery representing "Salome" (Fig. 12), which, for this and other obvious reasons, is now universally accepted as Antonio Solario's. I used to ascribe this "Salome" to Michele da Verona, and the resemblance of her face to that painter's type is manifest. I am tempted to infer that, after such intimate contact with Andrea Solario as is displayed in the Ambrosiana "Head of the Baptist," Antonio stopped for a while at Verona, where, sensitive as he was to kindred inspiration, he did actually fall under the influence of Michele. I venture to believe that this suggestion will turn out fruitful for students who would pursue the subject further in Naples.³

Here we must return to the question of chronology, and argue that if the Doria "Salome" dates from soon after 1508, the Walters picture, which resembles it significantly, but is more loosely and even sloppily handled, must have been painted at least a year or two

¹ Louvre, No. 1533.

² Antonio's predilection for jewelry and jeweled ornament would be explained if he started as a jeweler. On page 38 of the tenth number of the *Bollettino d'Arte* for 1907 was announced the purchase of a "Madonna" supposed to be by Antonio Solario, and signed "Hoc opus fecit Antonius Aurifex de Venetiis." But as this picture, never exhibited and never published, has mysteriously disappeared, one is led to wonder whether, like a certain picture bearing the earliest signature of B. Vivarini, it was not of recent manufacture?

³ Kindred works by Antonio under the influence of Michele da Verona, and which I used to ascribe to Michele himself, are the two panels in the National Gallery (Nos. 646 and 647), representing "St. Catherine" and "St. Ursula." Their attribution as "Umbrian School" is no doubt a witness to the fact that they come from Central Italy, and would go to prove that Antonio painted them in the Marches after a visit North.

later, say in 1510. Perhaps it was a commission Antonio picked up on his way southward, possibly when again in the Marches, or conceivably when he was already in Naples.

VIII.

Antonello da Messina spent less than a year in Venice during his visit of 1475-6, but Venetian painting was never the same again. His pervasive influence, however, was naturally more visible and appreciable in treatment and technique than in type or composition. It is, in fact, far from easy to lay one's finger on anything more than accessory in a Venetian painting, which, when reproduced in black and white, will instantly recall Antonello. Where there is anything definite to recall him, it is apt to be in the work of men like Alvise Vivarini or Cima, whose interest and importance are far from being measured by the fact of this imitation. Even among the parasitic painters, it turns out, curiously enough, to be none of the artists who actually knew Antonello in Venice, but two painters from Parma, who probably knew only his pictures, whose chief interest lies in their intimate dependence upon the Southern master. These painters were Filippo Mazzola, of whom I must speak at some length, and Cristoforo Caselli, or Temperelli.

Mazzola, in his portraits, where he appears at his best, approaches Antonello more closely than any other artist except Alvise Vivarini, who deliberately imitated him. In his other pictures, conspicuously in his Agram "St. Sebastian" and his Budapest "St. Christopher," Mazzola leans upon the Sicilian master, but in his Madonnas and religious figures in general this influence gets more diffused. As Mazzola was born toward 1460 and Antonello never returned to Northern Italy after 1476, and as, moreover, the Sicilian influence in his works increases rather than diminishes till the end of his life, in 1505, it is reasonable to assume that he knew Antonello's works, though not their master, and that, on repeated visits to Venice, he may have become acquainted with Antonio and Piero de Saliba, and possibly with Jacopo, the son of Antonello.

It is to be regretted that none of Mazzola's most strikingly Antonellesque works, his portraits, are at hand for the present discussion.¹ Although it is a temptation to ascribe to him every tolerable Venetian portrait even vaguely recalling Antonello, we must resist

¹ Mr. George Breck owns a fine portrait of a young woman with the Castle of Ferrara in the distance. In the genuine cartellino may be doubtfully read the traces of Mazzola's signature, F. J. M.



Fig. 11. CRISTOFORO CASSELLI (?): ECCE HOMO.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.



Fig. 12. ANTONIO SOLARIO: SALOME.
The Doria Gallery, Rome.



it in the case of the only one of this description that falls within our scope, the pleasant head of an adolescent, belonging to Mr. D. F. Platt (reproduced in the *Rassegna d'Arte* for 1911, p. 148). As far as I know, there is no other portrait in our collections that could with the slightest plausibility be ascribed to Mazzola.

But we have, on the other hand, one religious subject which is certainly by him, and perhaps yet another, both in the gallery of Mr. Walters. The certain work is an oblong panel (Fig. 10) wherein we see the Madonna seated between St. Jerome and a Franciscan monk, holding the Child, who blesses with His right hand and clutches a bird in His left. The arrangement of the heads is conspicuously Bellinesque, and so is the St. Jerome as a type. The Virgin has perhaps an indefinable Antonellesque element in her face, although the oval and the expression have a certain tincture of the Morones of Verona, which, indeed, is visible in the head of the Franciscan as well. This scarcely comes as a surprise, for these same influences, along with that of the Vicentine Montagna, may be traced elsewhere in Mazzola.

The attribution of this "Madonna and Saints" to Mazzola is inevitable if one has clearly in mind his National Gallery picture (No. 1416), which so closely resembles it in general effect, or his Berlin Altarpiece of 1502, the nearest of all in details of types, draperies and action, with a Child that is almost identical. The study of his other works, whether at Parma or Corte Maggiore, or Naples, brings confirmatory evidence. I am inclined to believe that we may date it soon after 1502.

The picture in the same collection that I am doubtful about is a Madonna sitting in front of a curtain, beside a landscape of river and town, meadow and mountain, with the naked Child sprawling on her lap (Fig. 14). Even the reproduction conveys an idea of something pleasant, the Madonna being rather agreeable as mass and oval of face, and the landscape extremely attractive. The colour adds a good deal, with its soft, warm tones.

Perhaps it would not have occurred to one to ascribe this panel to Mazzola if one did not happen to have in mind a "Madonna" in Berlin (No. 1455, reproduced in the fully illustrated catalogue), the tone and technique of which seem the same. Now the Berlin picture is not only inscribed "F. M. P." in a hand we can recognize as Mazzola's, but the folds of the draperies, although a trifle

more Antonellesque than usual, are themselves as good as a signature. In the Berlin panel, the Virgin's face is distinctly reminiscent of Cima. The Walters picture goes much further in that direction, and the entire composition was clearly suggested by some such work of Cima's as the Louvre Altarpiece. Even the landscape is based upon a Cimaesque pattern. The Child's ear has all the peculiarities of Mazzola, as can be seen by looking at the other Walters picture we have just examined.

If I retain a doubt, it is due to the question of date. Mazzola died in 1505, and the type of the Madonna here imitated would seem to me unexpectedly advanced for a work painted by Cima at this epoch. On the other hand, Cima's chronology is not yet quite ascertained, so that we are not called upon to give this consideration too much weight.

It is with still more hesitation that I venture to introduce yet another picture in the Walters Collection as a possible work by Mazzola's fellow-townsmen, Cristoforo Caselli, who was moulded under the same Veneto-Sicilian influences. If I am mistaken, no great harm will be done. I record merely an impression for which I can offer no sort of proof.

The picture in question represents the "Ecce Homo" (Fig. 11). The Saviour is seen down to the waist, holding an elaborately jewelled cross in His pierced right hand, while His left is held up appealingly. The thorn-crowned, richly curled head looks up, showing far too much of the whites of the eyes. Behind extends a beautiful landscape, with the domes and towers of a town by a stream, and distant marble mountains.

The sentimental look slightly excuses the silliness of the old label which reads "Bolognese School, 17th Century." One need not be a clerk to see that, despite sentimentality, the conception is far closer to 1500 than to 1600, and that the tightness of the drawing and of the treatment is distinctly in the Quattrocento tradition. My reasons for guessing it to be by Cristoforo Caselli are too vague and too uncertain to be given. Something in the whole conception, the folds of the sash, the richly jewelled Cross and clasp, are not my reasons but my excuses for jumping to such a conclusion. If by him—and I trust the guess may prove well founded—he may have painted it as late as 1510.



Fig. 13. ANTONELLO DA SERRAVALLE: MADONNA.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.



Fig. 14. FILIPPO MAZZOLA (?): MADONNA.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.



X.

In closing this chapter, I must mention yet another panel in the Walters Collection (Fig. 13). It is a very poor thing indeed, but yet not without a certain suggestion of grandeur. It represents the Madonna and happens to be signed "Antonellus Pinxit."

Needless to say this Antonellus is not the one of Messina. He is but a tenth-rate painter, happily rare, by whom we know one and only one other signed work, a fresco at Serravalle in the Friuli, dated 1485. Mr. Walters' picture makes a slight advance upon that one, and may be a few years later. Our profit in making this painter's acquaintance is to recognize him if we find him masquerading under another name. Our excuse for bringing him in here, apart from convenience, is that parochial pride and parochial presumption at one time maintained that he was identical with the great Sicilian. The panel before us offers merely a distorted reflex of the style of the Vivarini.

HOLBEIN'S CROMWELL · BY FRANK JEWETT MATHER, Jr.

THE portrait of Thomas Cromwell, which has recently passed from Tyttenhanger Park to Mr. H. C. Frick's New York residence, is too well known to need elaborate introduction. It is one of the most repellent of Holbein's works, and also one of the most masterly. One reads in the sinister yet formidable face and in the awkward yet aggressive attitude the entire character of the toady-tyrant who abetted the judicial murder of his benefactor, Sir Thomas More, while enduring the brutal manners of the King with doglike fidelity. One feels still the ungainliness of the blacksmith's son. He had sharpened his wits soldiering in the Italy of Machiavelli and Cæsar Borgia, hardened his heart by trading with the Northern barbarians, but he had not learned to be at ease. He is almost as pathetic as he is formidable. The very arrangement of the picture recalls and parodies such nobler Holbeins as the More and Erasmus. Such associations are the best commentary on the porcine shrewdness of this interpretation. It is the most pitilessly revealing of all Holbein's portraits, perhaps of all portraiture.

We need only note that the picture was painted when Cromwell's curve was still ascendant. The letter on the table is addressed "To our trusty and right welbiloved Counsailler Thomas Cromwell,

Maister of o^r Jewelhouse." This title he received April 12, 1532. Early in 1534 he became First Secretary of State. In the interval this portrait was painted. Cromwell has not yet become master of England, but has grimly set his face that way. England will pay the price in suspicion, hate, and privy murder under legal forms. How the Lord Chancellor looked at his height of power, the damaged but still expressive miniature in the Morgan Collection shows. For this and other Cromwell portraits the reader may consult Lionel Cust's excellent article in the twentieth volume of the *Burlington Magazine*.

A curious fate has overtaken all the portraits of this well-loathed statesman. They are all more or less effaced, as if time itself bore a grudge against his memory. Recent careful cleaning has bettered the condition of the Frick portrait. The laudatory scroll with its Latin inscription which appears in all earlier reproductions has been removed, to the great gain of the composition. It was a posthumous addition of no consequence except as containing about the only surviving praise of the man. In eliminating it the restorer has merely confirmed the verdict of history. Modern criticism, in the person of Lionel Cust, has done Cromwell's memory an even greater disservice by robbing him of the noble crayon portrait at Wilton House. Despite its old inscription, it represents some other and better man. And, finally, as if to put the rising Master of the Jewelhouse in his proper moral perspective, across the chimney-piece, in Mr. Frick's new mansion, now hangs the grave and serene effigy of Holbein's Sir Thomas More.

CHARLES FRASER, THE FRIEND AND CONTEMPORARY OF MALBONE · BY ALICE R. HUGER SMITH

CHARLES FRASER, next to Malbone one of the greatest miniaturists of America, was the grandson of John Fraser, a Scotchman, who had settled in the State of South Carolina about 1700. He made his home in the country of the Yemassee Indians, and with his wife escaped, through the friendship of an Indian chief, the terrible massacre which commenced the great Yemassee War in 1715, when from Savannah to the Santee River the allied tribes spread death and devastation throughout the province. His son, Alexander, the father of the artist, married Mary Grimke, of a



MALBONE: HON. JAMES REID PRINGLE



FRASER: NIECE OF THE ARTIST
Painted in 1803



FRASER: PORTRAIT OF A GIRL



FRASER: JAMES REID PRINGLE—1823

CHARLES FRASER AND EDWARD G. MALBONE: MINIATURES.



well-known Carolina family. Her sister was the wife of John Rutledge, the so-called "Dictator" of South Carolina, to whom in 1780 the Legislature of that State delegated the "power to do everything necessary for the public good except taking away the life of a citizen without a legal trial," and who under this authority for two years of bloody war was himself the entire civil government of the State. Of his father's marriage there were fourteen children, of whom Charles was the youngest. He received his entire education in the City of Charleston, where he was called to the Bar in 1807, and where he practiced law until 1818.

But even during this period Art claimed his first allegiance. There exist miniatures and paintings executed by him as early as 1792, when he was only ten years of age. It was at this time that his boyish intimacy with Thomas Sully, the distinguished portrait painter, was beginning. By the time he reached manhood his miniatures had attained such a degree of excellence that they were already noteworthy. His portrait of a child (his little niece), painted in 1803, shows freshness and beauty of coloring and boldness of touch, but lacks the finish of his best work. This period of his artistic life seems of peculiar interest, for in 1800 Washington Allston returned from Harvard to Charleston, either bringing or followed closely by Malbone, who at once entered upon his professional work there, and the three became close friends. In 1801 Allston went to London, where he became a student in the Royal Academy, while in the same year Sully removed to Norfolk and painted his first miniature from life, one of his brother Chester, followed by his first oil painting in 1802.

The effect, one upon the other, produced by this early association of these four young painters, has been much discussed, but it cannot be questioned that his acquaintance with Malbone's work greatly benefited Fraser, for Malbone had already reached that eminence which he still retains among American miniature painters. Two of Malbone's productions of this date are the miniatures of Judge Daniel Elliott Huger and of his friend the Hon. James Reid Pringle. They show Malbone's invariable grasp of the individuality of his subject, and we can see in both portrayed the promise of the distinction that these young men achieved in after life. The former spent his life in the legislative and judicial service of his State, ending his public career in the Senate of the United States.

The latter, sometime President of the State Senate of South Carolina, was one of the small band of leading men whose strenuous opposition to the nullification movement of 1832 temporarily blighted their political lives.

It is interesting to compare this portrait by Malbone painted in 1800 with a miniature of Mr. Pringle painted about 1823 by Fraser. Malbone is happier than Fraser in his composition. The lower part of Fraser's miniature is heavy. Malbone most charmingly shows the brightness and gaiety of the young man, while Fraser brings out in the mature man the strength and reserve of twenty years of development. The difference between the two painters shown by these two portraits is characteristic, for the dash of Malbone is only exceptionally absent in his miniatures, and such dash only exceptionally present in Fraser's. It is found in Fraser's portrait of Edward Cotesworth Rutledge (later captain U. S. Navy), but is absent in that of John McPherson Pringle, a son of the James Reid Pringle mentioned above. The portrait of Lieut. Rutledge shows a spirit similar to that of Malbone. That of John McPherson Pringle shows the more usual poise and reserve of Fraser. Malbone has left us two specimens which lend themselves to similar comparison—those of Major James Ladson and his wife. Major Ladson was an officer of the Continental Line of South Carolina during the Revolution. His wife was a sister of William Loughton Smith, member of the first five Congresses of the United States, Minister to Portugal, and afterwards to Spain. Both pictures are fine examples of Malbone's skill. In that of Mrs. Ladson there is the delightful freedom of handling that we expect of Malbone, but this is not so noticeable in the miniature of her husband. Instead we find the quiet assured treatment suited to his subject—who was a man who had made his mark in life and made it well.

Fraser's miniatures of Mr. James H. Ladson (a son of the Major Ladson mentioned above) and of his wife, Ann Fraser, the artist's own niece, were painted in 1826. That of Mr. John Julius Pringle, a noted lawyer of his day to whom Jefferson offered the position of Attorney General of the United States, was painted nine years later, at which time Mr. Pringle's years exceeded four score. The artist had a marked gift for understanding and portraying the temperaments of his sitters, and not merely differences

of feature and type. In all the examples given, the character of the man or woman painted cannot be mistaken for an instant. This is true of all his work. His poorest miniatures as well as his best represent his subjects. Some of his work is weak in composition or careless in treatment, but none of it fails to show a grasp of individual character. Three portraits of women show this gift to a remarkable degree.

The girl of sixteen years is a delightful piece of color, with a freshness of youth and a brilliancy that is charming. The others are Mrs. William Allston, a daughter of Rebecca Motte of romantic fame, and Mrs. Prioleau, wife of the Samuel Prioleau who, during the Revolution, was held a state-prisoner at St. Augustine by the British. These two old ladies, posed somewhat alike, are striking, each in her own way.

When the Marquis de La Fayette visited Charleston in 1825, Fraser was commissioned by the City to paint for presentation to him a portrait of Col. Francis Kinloch Huger, his would-be rescuer and quondam fellow prisoner at Olmutz, and for the City of Charleston one of La Fayette himself. Of these the Marquis, after his return to France, wrote to Col. Huger a letter: "Your admirable miniature portrait, while it every day excites my gratitude to the City Council, and the feeling interest of all newcomers to La Grange, has also produced another kind of excitement among the artists of Paris. It is an additional obligation I have to Mr. Fraser. I am proud to show this beautiful specimen of American Art; my patriotic feelings on the occasion have had full enjoyment.

"You know I have sat also for Mr. Fraser, to whom, when you see him, I beg you to present my friendly and grateful compliments."

To General Youngblood on 30th December, 1826, La Fayette wrote:

"Remember me to your good Intendant (Samuel Prioleau). Mr. Fraser's admirable portrait of my friend and benefactor, Huger, is considered a very high specimen of the state of the arts in the United States. Be pleased to present my compliments to him."

Fraser's miniature of La Fayette still worthily holds its place among the historic portraits that hang in the City Hall of Charleston. It is here reproduced for the first time.

Fraser painted professionally for thirty-eight years and his pictures form almost a pictorial history of Charleston and its people.

At a loan exhibition of his work, held in Charleston in 1857, as appears from his own copy of the catalogue, which I have before me, there were shown no less than three hundred and thirteen miniatures and one hundred and thirty-nine oil paintings and sketches. These were chiefly lent by residents of South Carolina and Georgia, but some of them came from Massachusetts and Connecticut. His oil paintings, which were principally landscapes and genre pieces, were well thought of, but he is chiefly known for his miniatures.

Glancing over the Catalogue, nearly every name reminds us of some pleasant social or historical association. James L. Petigru, the great wit and lawyer; Keating Simons, who had served on Marion's staff; William D. Porter, for so long President of the South Carolina Senate; Chancellor De Saussure of the South Carolina Bench, who as Director of the Mint under Washington had first carried to the first President "a handful of gold eagles" of the new coinage of America; Governor James Hamilton of South Carolina, a chief leader of the Nullifiers of 1832; Major Elnathan Haskell of the Continental Line of Mass.; John Blake White, who painted the well-known picture of General Marion feasting the British officer on sweet potatoes; Judge Langdon Cheves, who was of the United States House of Representatives in 1814, and in 1819 was President of the Bank of the United States; Robert Y. Hayne, whose speeches with those of Webster in the Senate have been declaimed by thousands of emulative American school boys of the last century; John McPherson Pringle, a son of James Reid Pringle, who bore the name of his grandfather, General McPherson, one of the most conspicuous figures in the history of the turf in South Carolina—these names cannot but arrest the eye. But there are many others quite as noticeable.

The group of seven Gadsdens includes General Christopher Gadsden of the Continental Line, whose biography would leave little to be written of the Revolutionary struggle in South Carolina; the Right Rev. Christopher Gadsden, Bishop of South Carolina; and James Gadsden, who negotiated with Mexico in 1853 the Gadsden purchase of forty-five thousand square miles which finally settled the question of the boundary line.

Twelve Horrys, Branfords and Shubricks—some copies and some originals—formed an interesting group. Among these was Colonel Peter Horry, who rode with Marion from 1780 to the end



JAMES MCPHERSON PRINGLE
Painted in 1834



MRS. JAMES H. LADSON, NÉE FRASER
Painted in 1826



MRS. SAMUEL POIRÉAU
Painted in 1818



EDWARD COTESWORTH RUTLEDGE,
U. S. N.
Painted in 1818



MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE—1825



MRS. WILLIAM ALSTON



MISS CAMPBELL—1830



FRANCIS K. HUGGER—1825
Collection of Mr. R. T. H. Halsey, New York

CHARLES FRASER: MINIATURES.



of the war, but who *did not* write Horry's Life of Marion by Weems.

Born during the Revolution and dying in 1860, the men of the Revolution in Fraser's youth still dominated his City and State. In his old age he saw the growth of the manhood which carried on the great struggle between the Northern and Southern States. Indeed he stood, as he himself says, "upon the line where the old and the new order met." In his "Reminiscences of Charleston," published in 1854, he tells us how much he owed to his intercourse with the men who had proved equal to the duties of the Revolution, and had laid the foundation of the new social and political system. These Reminiscences will always excite interest. In them he tells of a prophetic conversation in his presence in 1816, "between two eminent men, opposed to each other in their whole public career," who regretted as a necessary result of the events then passing the "extinction of the old constitutional division of parties, for, if any should afterwards arise, it would inevitably be sectional."

Mr. Fraser's literary ability and taste were both highly developed, and there remain many productions of his pen to prove this excellence. He was a conspicuous figure in the social life of Charleston, and he numbered among his friends most of those who made a mark upon its history.

THE MAN WITH THE WINEGLASS BY DIEGO VELAZQUEZ · BY AUGUST L. MAYER

THE last years have brought to light a considerable number of paintings by Velazquez of all his periods. These works, most of them entirely unknown, some rediscovered after a long disappearance, belong nearly without exception to the category which procured for him his popular glory: they all are portraits. To-day I can present another original picture by the greatest genius of Spanish Art, also as good as unknown until now to the friends and students of Spanish painting, but not a portrait. It is a *genre* picture in the taste and style of Frans Hals and affine to the art of this great humorist and impressionist of the Dutch painters: The Man with the Wineglass. A laughing man, life size, half-length, holding a wineglass with red wine in his left hand which is covered with a long, yellowish glove. It comes from the collection of Sir Prior Goldney, Bart., Derriads, Chippenham, and was exhibited

at Bristol, in 1893. It is without doubt an original work by Diego Velazquez. It must have been painted about 1623, that is to say shortly after his arrival in Madrid. It has no more the very brownish flesh tints, so characteristic of the early Sevillian works, and it is already freer, and more original in technical execution. Witness the marvelously painted glove, which had given for long time to the picture the name "The Man with the Glove," and which can only be compared with gloves painted by Frans Hals and Rembrandt. Every amateur and scholar will admit that the model of this picture is the same as in the "Geographer" in the Museum in Rouen, and as there are also some resemblances in the composition, we will explain the historical, artistic, and chronological position and value of these two pictures.

The Rouen picture is generally and rightly considered a genuine work by Velazquez, painted about 1623-1625. Noticeable is the great difference in technical execution between the head and collar on one side, and the remaining part of the picture on the other. Face and collar show not only a thicker "impasto" (this would not be so decisive, as the most early works of Velazquez are painted with a rather thicker impasto), but also a much freer and bolder brushwork, quite different from the more timid manner which the picture reveals in its other parts. We refer especially to the shyly, timidly foreshortened little book on the table, and to the pointing hand, which is articulated a little lamely with the not too happily foreshortened arm. The idea of the picture is not clear, at least at first sight, and its humour remains a little forced.

Quite another thing is the English picture. It appears not only more convincing and clearer from the first moment, but shows all its advantages just in those parts which are different from the Rouen picture. This is of the highest importance, for a pupil or imitator is always weaker than the master, and betrays himself in such variations. But here the variations are not only very interesting, intelligent, and attractive, but also marvelously executed.

The English picture in its present condition appears a little smaller than the Rouen example. It is cut off under the right hand. The man wears no mantle. The contour of the costume on the right side under the collar is much more vigorous than in the Rouen example. (That which in the Rouen picture seems to be a "pentimento" on the left side of the costume has another explanation: the master



DIEGO VELAZQUEZ: THE MAN WITH THE WINEGLASS.
Property of Duveen Brothers, New York.



has scratched away the color in order to give more relief to the body.)

In the English example every thing is stronger in line and clearer in modelling. The line in the neck shows a bend which is not present in the Rouen picture. Also in the painting of the collar, and the small white slit in the sleeve, we find a greater clearness and definiteness in the English example. The head in the English picture appears to be bent more forward than in the French picture, and thereby to contribute to the charm of the whole. This man says laughingly "Your health," and naturally makes a little compliment in doing so. Chin and cheeks in the English example are much better modelled than in the Rouen example, in which also the eyes appear softer and less decided in expression.

I believe that the English example was painted by Velazquez, a little later than the French picture in its first state. That is to say, the French picture was repainted after the English picture was finished. One can not say with certainty that the French picture had originally the same model for the head as now. Probably the head has been entirely changed in repainting the picture, by taking the model for the head from the English example.¹

It seems that Velazquez' "Man with the Wineglass" once pleased the Madrid amateurs because there exists still an old copy of the picture in an English private collection, executed by a second class painter of the Madrid school of the seventeenth century.

I said already in the introduction of this article, that Velazquez approaches here nearer to Frans Hals than in any other work, especially in regard to the technique. But it is interesting to state, that this ideal of brushwork-virtuosity, pursued and maintained by Hals during his whole life, was for Velazquez only a problem of a transitional period in his youth. The lusty humour and his noisy laugh, which he brought with him from the joyous Capital of Andalusia, his gay native town Seville, disappears relatively soon after his definitive change of residence to Madrid: "The Man with the Wineglass," the "Portrait of a Priest" in the Collection of Mr. Huntington, Los Angeles, and "The Borrachos" in the Prado are the three works in which Velazquez' Sevillian humour latest appears.

¹ That the head was repainted later by the master, has already been observed quite correctly by the late Don Aureliano de Beruete.

TWO UNPUBLISHED WORKS OF BENEDETTO DA ROVEZZANO · BY ALLAN MARQUAND

ABOUT twenty years ago I purchased from Signor Stefano Bardini of Florence the frieze decorated with scrolls represented in Fig. 1. The other frieze (Fig. 2), adorned with cupids and hippocampi, was in Signor Bardini's possession at the same time. He assured me that both were purchased from a palazzo on the corner of the Via dei Benci and Corso dei Tintori, and adorned mantelpieces made by Benedetto da Rovezzano; also that a magnificent capital and some consoles by the same sculptor still remain in the same palace. This palazzo is now owned by Mr. Herbert P. Horne.

Benedetto da Rovezzano was a sculptor who carried over into the sixteenth century the grace and refinement which characterized the best Florentine work of the second half of the fifteenth century. Although reflecting at various periods of his life the influence of Civitali, of Giuliano da Sangallo, and of Andrea Sansovino, he seems to have escaped the influence of Michelangelo, who held so many sculptors under his sway.

The definitely known works of Benedetto are few in number. He is known particularly as a sculptor of tombs. In 1502 he signed a contract for a very elaborate tomb for Louis XII of France. In 1506 he began for the monks of Vallombrosa the tomb of St. Gualbertus, fragments of which are preserved in the Museo Nazionale, Florence. Soon after November 12, 1507, when Oddo Altoviti died, Benedetto made his tomb in SS. Apostoli. In 1512 he made the tomb of Pietro Soderini in the Church of the Carmine. In 1527 he began a magnificent tomb for Cardinal Wolsey, the sarcophagus of which now serves for Lord Nelson's tomb in St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

In all these works Benedetto proved himself to be a skilful architect and master sculptor, a creator of new decorative motives. It may be noted that in these tombs some of the earlier principles of decoration are abandoned. Here there is no representation of the Madonna, no angels, no cardinal or theological virtues. In the tomb for Louis XII there were in all twenty-six figures, some of saints standing in niches, but in the later tombs even these were abandoned. Classic motives, general decorative designs, and emblems of death are substituted.



BENEDETTO DA ROVEZZANO: DECORATIVE PANELS.
The upper one at Bardini's, Florence; the lower in the collection of Allan Marquand, Princeton, N. J.

In the early sixteenth century the best sculptors were employed for secular rather than for ecclesiastical purposes. The owners of palaces now called upon sculptors to decorate mantelpieces and fountains, or to add charm to architecture by the ornamentation of columns and entablatures. Vasari tells us of two mantelpieces made by Benedetto da Rovezzano. The one for the Borgherini palace is now in the Museo Nazionale, and a copy of it in the house of Mr. Stanley Mortimer at Roslyn, Long Island. The other was made for Bindo Altoviti; its whereabouts is unknown. In the Borgherini mantelpiece Rovezzano seems to have been inspired to some extent by the beautiful mantelpiece made by Giuliano da Sangallo for the Palazzo Gondi. Both have broad friezes adorned with classic themes, pilasters decorated with trophies, and supporting members covered with foliated arabesques.

The two friezes we here publish were doubtless taken from somewhat simpler mantelpieces than that of the Borgherini palace, but we may well restore them to our imagination with similarly decorated three-quarter columns and architectural members of somewhat similar style. The date of the Borgherini mantel is unknown, but was probably earlier than the two mantelpieces from the Via dei Benci palace. These are more closely allied with the works of Rovezzano's later years: with the niches from the Palazzo Cepparello, now in the Museo Nazionale; with the altar of St. Dionysius, in the Trinità; and with the portal of the Badia. In these works, which approximate the style of Andrea Sansovino, we find many detailed resemblances to our friezes; similar putti, cornucopias, vases, and scrolls, the branches of which shoot through disk-like flowers and revolve around finely undercut leaves and flowers and send forth delicately gyrating tendrils which end in flower buds or seedpods or sprays of wheat. No draughtsman with his silver point or pen could show a surer hand than that which wielded the chisel in this beautiful scroll work.

The winged putti setting fire to thunderbolts, and the dolphins whose tails are tied together beneath vases of fruit, are much more beautiful than the similar dolphins tail-tied between vases of flowers on the frieze which Rovezzano carved for the portal of the Badia. These two friezes, therefore, must take a high rank among the decorative works of Benedetto Rovezzano.

BOTTICELLI'S PICTURE OF THE MIRACLES OF ST.
ZENOBIUS IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM · BY
J. P. RICHTER

THE picture by Botticelli in the Metropolitan Museum representing three miracles of Saint Zenobius (No. B. 652), admirably described and discussed in a scholarly way by Mr. B. Burroughs in the *Bulletin of the Museum* (October, 1911), is, as he has stated, one of a series of four panels of approximately the same size. Of these one is in the Dresden Gallery, and two are in the Mond Collection in London. The original destination of the panels has long been a puzzle. In my description of the two in the Mond Collection in the *Catalogue of that collection* (London, 1910), published before the discovery of the picture now in the Metropolitan Museum, I said in a passage quoted by Mr. Burroughs: "The original destination of Botticelli's panels is unknown; their size and character makes it likely that they were designed to decorate some large piece of furniture destined to contain clerical vestments, which probably stood in the sacristy of some church especially connected with the cult of St. Zenobius, very likely in that of the Duomo itself, or, perhaps, in a room in the neighboring Archbishop's palace." As a result of researches which I have recently been able to make, I can now throw further light on this interesting question.

Baron C. F. von Rumohr, a distinguished art critic, born in 1785, who resided in Florence for several years, where he was occupied with the study of Italian painting, was also a collector of works of art. In the second volume of his "*Italienische Forschungen*," published in 1827, he mentions incidentally a picture by Botticelli—painted on panel, representing two scenes of the end of the life of St. Zenobius—which he says he bought years ago for a friend who afterwards sold it to Herr von Quandt, a collector living in Dresden. This last information enables us to identify the picture once bought by Baron von Rumohr with the one representing that subject in the Dresden Gallery, as it is known to have come from the Quandt Collection. The important point in Baron von Rumohr's short remarks on it is the information he gives about its original destination. He tells us that the picture came from the *Compagnia di San Zenobio*. Now, since the picture of the life of Saint Zenobius in the Metro-

politan Museum is part of a series in which the whole life story of the patron saint of Florence was depicted, the early part of which is shown on the two panels in the Mond Collection, and again, as all four pictures are approximately of the same size, it follows that all four were originally set up in the same locality, that is, in the residence of the Compagnia di San Zenobio.

Religious confraternities named after different saints were very numerous in Florence during the Middle Ages. They were at the same time the centres of political parties, especially during the fifteenth century, and as such mostly in opposition to the Medici. One of the foremost was the Compagnia di S. Zenobio to which reference is made in numerous documents still preserved in the State Archives in Florence. I have lately searched these with the object of elucidating the history of Botticelli's pictures painted for that confraternity. The earliest records of its constitution and rules bear the date 1326. The rules were altered in 1508, and again in 1553. I have carefully searched the large volume containing documents about legacies received by the company from its members. They testify to its riches in houses, mostly let out on lease, and in land property in the neighborhood of the town. Their dates extend from the year 1368 to 1754. With the same object I have searched the numerous contracts as well as the miscellaneous records of that company, but in vain. The business of the company was no doubt always carried on in a thoroughgoing way, but the perusal of the papers still preserved shows that many documents have gone astray in the course of time. The date of the contract for painting the pictures in question, if found, would have special interest, as this is still a debated question. I consider them to be early works of the master, while other authorities place them at the end of Botticelli's life.

Under the late date of February 4, 1739-40, there is an inventory preserved of "all the fixtures and moveable objects to be found in the house situated in the district of S. Ambrogio, the property of the venerable company of St. Zenobius." This inventory testifies to the decay and poverty into which the company had fallen by that time. There are no fine works of art among the many indifferent objects it enumerates. Half a century later, during the Napoleonic times, the company with all the other similar institutions ceased to exist.

At an earlier date F. L. del Migliore gave a short account of the

company which at that time was installed in a building close to the Campanile of the Florence Cathedral. "Firenze, città nobilissima, illustrata" is the title of his book, published in 1634. Several pictures are mentioned in that account (pages 65 to 68), among them two representing miracles of St. Zenobius, but without an indication of the name of the painter. A later writer, Giuseppe Richa, gave a more detailed account of the Compagnia di San Zenobio in his "Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine" (Vol. VI, pages 107 to 114). He also mentions two paintings representing miracles of the saint and adds the information that they were executed by Domenico Ghirlandajo. Del Migliore gives a full description of the subject of one of the two pictures. One of them, he says, represents the bishop bringing back to life the son of the French lady in the Borgo degli Albizzi. In the other was depicted the blooming of a tree when touched by the bier on which the deceased saint was being carried on the shoulders of bishops from the church of San Lorenzo to the Cathedral. It is strange that these "fine pictures by Domenico Ghirlandajo" should not have been mentioned by Vasari or any other more or less competent early writer on art. The theory is therefore admissible that Richa made a mistake in attributing the two pictures to Domenico Ghirlandajo, who, having been the master of Michelangelo, was much more thought of in Florence during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than Botticelli. Such mistakes were by no means uncommon, as is evident from Milanese's notes on Vasari. In his commentary on the life of Botticelli he refers (Vol. III, p. 327) to two publicly exhibited pictures by Botticelli in Florence,—one of them in the Galleria delle Belle Arti,—which up to the writer's time were assigned to Domenico Ghirlandajo.

The full description of one of the two "fine pictures" seen by Del Migliore and by Richa in the house of the confraternity of St. Zenobius answers perfectly one of the two now in the Mond Collection. The subject of the other, however, the Burial of the Saint, is depicted in none of the four panels of the Life of St. Zenobius now known, but it is, I believe, very likely that by such a representation Botticelli brought the story to an effective close, considering the great popularity which the incident, recorded in several pictures in various Florentine churches, enjoyed and still enjoys among the Florentines. Possibly Botticelli's representation of the subject,

a companion picture to the one in the Metropolitan Museum, still exists and may be rediscovered unexpectedly.

The building in which Del Migliore and Richa found the two pictures was the residence of the Capitani of the company. Its place is now taken by the residence of the Canons of the Florence Cathedral. The other paintings of the life of St. Zenobius by Botticelli may have been preserved for some time in the building occupied by the company in the district of St. Ambrogio. If so, they must have disappeared from there before the compilation of the inventory above referred to. Only so much seems to be certain now, that their *provenance* was still known when Baron von Rumohr, in the early years of the nineteenth century, acquired one of the series, the panel now in the Dresden Gallery. Further researches or discoveries will, I hope, elucidate still better the history of Botticelli's paintings for the Confraternity of Saint Zenobius.

COMMUNICATION

TO THE EDITOR OF ART IN AMERICA:

SIR—As my name has been mentioned in Mr. W. Roberts' interesting note, on a so-called Turner of "Winchester Cross," in your April issue, I shall be obliged if you will kindly allow me to make a few remarks on the subject.

Mr. Roberts says that the publication of my "Inventory of the Drawings of the Turner Bequest" enables us to fix the approximate date of this picture. With all due respect for Mr. Roberts' industry and extraordinarily wide knowledge of many branches of art of which I know nothing, I must say that my "Inventory" does nothing of the kind. It proves that a certain sketch-book of Turner's, now in the National Gallery, which contains several sketches of Winchester—one of them of the Butter Cross—must have been in use in the year 1795. But there is no evidence to connect this sketch of Turner's with the oil painting which you reproduce in your April number. This painting of the Cross is not based on Turner's sketch—as reference to the reproduction of the sketch in "The Annual of the Walpole Society," vol. I, plate xxiv(a), proves; and the condition of the Cross in the painting is very much more dilapidated than when Turner sketched it. And so far as I know Turner never sketched the Cross except on this one occasion in 1795—at least there is

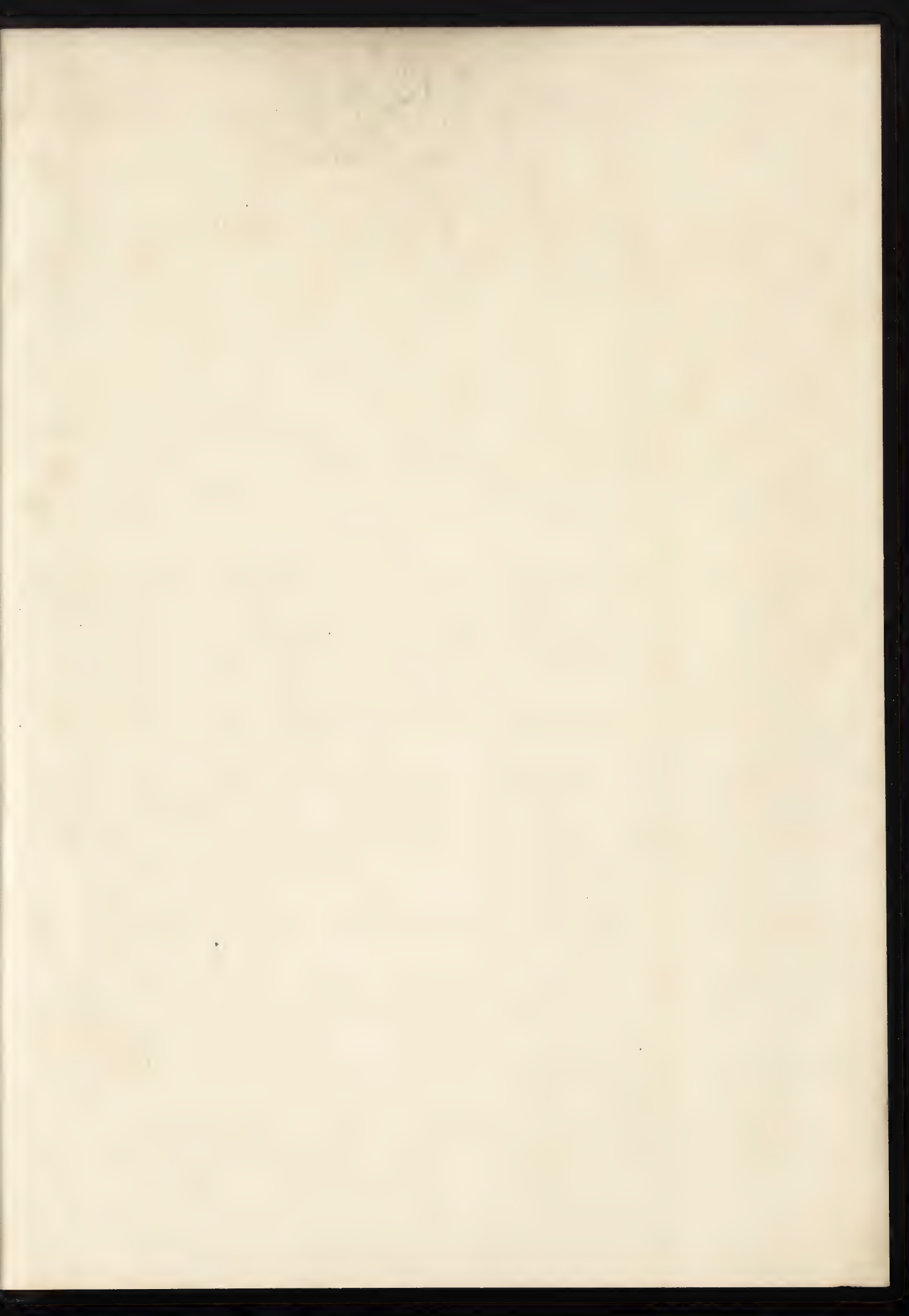
certainly no other drawing of it in the almost complete series of his sketches from nature in the National Gallery.

Nor is there any internal evidence in Mr. Johnson's painting to suggest that it was painted by Turner. When the picture was in London in 1905, I had several opportunities of examining it carefully. Neither in design nor in workmanship does it bear the faintest resemblance to any of Turner's authentic paintings of any period. It may be by Reynolds, or by Chardin, as the article in *The Burlington Magazine* quoted by Mr. Roberts seems to suggest, but I have no hesitation in affirming that it is certainly not by Turner.

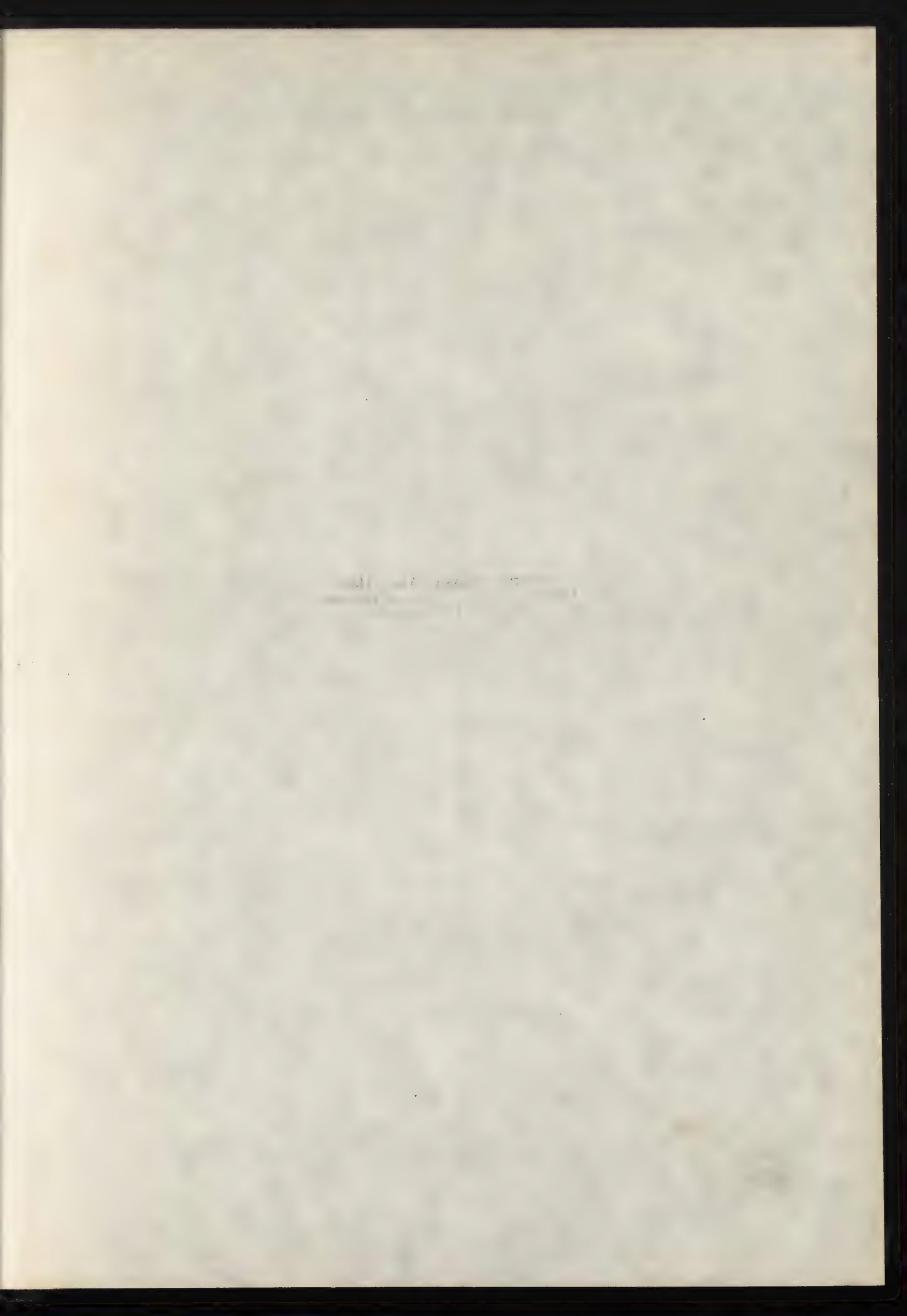
Your obedient servant,

ALEXANDER J. FINBERG.

47 Holland Road, Kensington, W.,
24th May, 1915.







HUNTING ARRAS OF ABOUT 1450.
*Charles Jairus Martin Memorial Collection,
Minneapolis Institute of Arts.*

ART IN AMERICA · AN ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE · VOLUME III NUMBER V · AUGUST MCMXV

PERSIAN AND INDIAN PAINTINGS IN THE MUSEUM
OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON : PART ONE · BY HERVEY
E. WETZEL

EXAMPLES FROM THE FATIMID, ABBASID, MONGOLIAN AND TIMURID
SCHOOLS, A.D. 1180-1480.

THE interest of the Western World in the art of Asia began with a knowledge of the art of Japan and China. The beautiful qualities in Japanese art were first appreciated in Paris. Before that, objects from the East were regarded merely as curiosities devoid of artistic value. Afterwards the interest in Oriental art and the knowledge of Western collectors increased with great rapidity. Now the most important collections are to be found, not in Asia, but in Europe and America.

Our knowledge of the "miniature" paintings of Persia and India is of recent date. Only within the last twelve years has this phase of Muhammadan art been discovered, exhibited and appreciated by Western connoisseurs. The first examples were seen in Paris, in two exhibitions: in 1903 and in 1906. But it was not until the exhibition of Muhammadan art in Munich, in 1910, and the similar exhibition in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris in 1912, that the world fully realized that these manuscript paintings had real artistic excellence and value. The merit and charm of their exquisite workmanship, their imaginative freedom of representation and their daring and brilliant schemes of colour, these won for them a permanent place in the field of decorative art. The decorative beauty of Persian painting is its most striking feature. The representation of nature by the Persian painters was suggestive rather than imitative—a mode of artistic expression which gives interest and infinite variety to the possibilities of the composition. These artists had a sense of colour which was nearly perfect. They tried the most unusual and splendid combinations. In the earliest exam-

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ples these qualities are quite as evident as in the later pieces. As time goes on their imaginative charm is replaced by extraordinary proficiency in technique, and, finally, in the examples of the late schools, we see a triumph of technique at the expense of the greater qualities found in the primitives.

The collection of M. Victor Goloubew has been regarded as one of the most important in Europe. It was exhibited during several years in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs as a loan. The collection contains 179 drawings and paintings, dating from the earliest period, the twelfth century, to the time of the late Mughals, in the eighteenth century. In America, the collection of Dr. Denman W. Ross is perhaps the best. It contains many fine examples. During the past year the Boston Museum has secured both of these collections—the former by purchase from M. Goloubew, and the latter by gift from Dr. Ross. In uniting these two collections the Museum is able to show a series not only comprehensive of every period and school, but distinguished by the rarity and the beauty of many single pieces. Of these, I have selected for discussion nine, of which I shall reproduce six.

Three of these miniatures are pages from a manuscript on Hydraulic Automata dating from about 1180¹ A.D. and represent the beginning of Arabic illustration. This form of art began late, because the Muhammadan religion forbade the representation of living forms—an interdict which was obeyed for several centuries after the Hejira. It was only in the twelfth century that the artists, because of more liberal-minded rulers, were allowed to illustrate books of science and epic poems. At first they turned to foreign sources and borrowed freely from the art of Byzantium and China. The sweeping lines and flat washes suggest the Far East, while the grand gestures and the low tones show the influence of Byzantine models. The artists of Cairo were just beginning to enjoy this freedom of representation under the rule of the luxurious Fatimids, when in 1171 A.D. that Caliphate was conquered by the Sunnite Ayyubids, who abhorred pictorial imagery and lived contentedly without art. So the artists scattered eastward to Baghdad in Mesopotamia, where the Abbasid Caliphate was still flourishing. It was, perhaps, one of these artists, settling in the East after

¹ This date was disputed by M. Claude Anet in the *Burlington Magazine* for October, 1912, but was reestablished by Dr. Martin in his book "The Miniature Painting of Persia and India," Vol. I, page 138, Note 20.



Fig. 1. MUSICIANS UNDER ARCHWAY.
Fatimid School, in Mesopotamia about 1180 A.D.



Fig. 2. TWO APOTHECARIES.
Leaf from the Materia Medica of Dioscorides. Baghdad, 1222 A.D.
Goloubew Collection.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

the fall of the Fatimids, who illustrated this treatise on Automatic Appliances.

The best pages of this manuscript have great force in drawing and a surprising richness in the use of colour. The essential only is represented, all else is cast aside. The simplification of line, the lack of needless detail, the broad masses of colour, show extraordinary perception and great force of imagination. By washes of flesh-colour over the outlines, the faces and hands are rendered in a mode as free as that of Rodin in his sketches. The full robes, the flowing sleeves, the Asiatic "squat" of the figures, are all expressed by simple, strong and effective lines. The artist has caught the spirit of life and movement by careful observation and has expressed this spirit, scorning imitation, and following the suggestions of his imagination. A more vital result is thus achieved. All of these qualities are manifest in the three pages of the Automata here illustrated.

An enthroned Sultan is especially rich and splendid in effect. There is a generous use of gold on the halo, the arm-bands and the throne: gold, burnished as in European manuscripts and not of the "dusty" quality of the later Persian schools. The olive-green robe has a pattern indicated in a darker green relieved by dots of white. Both this pattern and that of the frieze near the top of the throne suggest patterns found on the Raghes pottery of the thirteenth century, and on the enamelled glass from Fostat. The sultan sits in solemn dignity, with his scepter resting lightly on the red edge of the throne, his free hand just raised in gesture from his lap. The long end of a light blue turban falls over his shoulder and balances the accent made by the scepter. Such a figure may be seen any day in the bazaars of Northern Africa—the solemn dealer sitting at the edge of his shop, talking to a chance customer or to his neighbor across the way.

Another page, representing musicians under an archway (Fig. 1), shows similar skill in giving the essentials of such a scene as one might see in Cairo or any Muhammadan city. Here, however, the artist has used more details. The ornamental gateway is crowded with symbolic decorations. On the blue dome at the top are six signs of the zodiac. Below this, at the extreme left in one of the yellow windows, stands a small saint with hands clasped. The archway itself is decorated on either side by a bird "displayed" in

gold on a red field—the emblem perhaps of the Ortuqid dynasty. Below each bird, in a panel of dark blue, is a gilt cup bearing an Arabic inscription. The whole structure rests on four slender columns. Beneath the span of the arch and between the columns are five figures. Two are blowing trumpets, one holds a pair of cymbals, another a drum, while the seated one, in the middle, beats a kettle drum of the sort often represented at the saddle of horsemen. The disposition of the colours in this leaf is most successful. The blue of the dome is repeated in the band of squares beneath the windows, and again in the background offsetting the cups. The olive-green of the man's coat at the left is the same as that of the scrolls filling the triangles near the arch. The shining gold gives a sparkle to the different parts and ties the whole together. The writing at the top of the sheet, the signs of the zodiac, the circles in the arch, the musical instruments, halos and arm-bands, all combine to balance the birds and cups which first attract attention.

Another page portraying two men in a pavillon is perhaps from the hand of another painter. The treatment is broader; the colours are more brilliant. The eyes, mouths and white beards are Mongolian in type, in comparison to the Semitic features of the sultan and the central musician. The colours here, as in the other page, are well-balanced. The personage wearing a fawn-coloured gown receives liquid into a silver cup from a silver flask, while the man with the blue robe is served from a gold flask and a gold cup. Supported above them is a golden dome, encircled by a band of Thuluth script in black. The supports and floor of the pavillon are also of gold. A very successful combination of colours is in the blue water running through the green columns with capitals and bases of red.

These three pages from the treatise on Automatics are of the primitive Fatimid School in Mesopotamia. They are interesting technically on account of naïveté of conception, imaginative force of drawing, and purity of colours; they are interesting historically, because of the date of the book and the light it throws on the art and customs of that time. The book shows a peculiar interest of the Arabs in automatic devices.

Another book of a somewhat later period, equally interesting, is an Arabic translation of the "Materia Medica" of Dioscorides, written and illustrated at Baghdad, and, what is of great importance, signed by the copyist 'Abdallah ibn al-Fadl and dated 1222 A.D.



FIG. 3. BATTLE SCENE.
Copy of a Chinese original; fourteenth century.
Golubtsov Collection.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

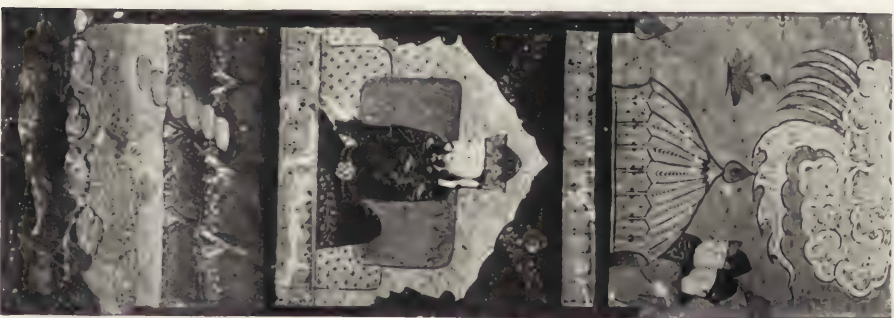


FIG. 4. KING ENTHRONED UPON
A DAIS.
Late fourteenth century.
Golubtsov Collection.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

At that time the Abbasid dynasty was in its decline. It came to its end in 1258 A.D. The more orthodox sect had lost power, the representation of living forms was allowed, and the artists were again following the precedents of Byzantine art. This is shown unmistakably in one of the pages of the Dioscorides (Fig. 2): in the elongation of the figures, the dignity of their carriage and above all in the grandeur of their gestures. The two figures have been mixing herbs in a brown-purple pot similar in shape to some that have been found in Rakka. The brilliant red of the robe and light blue of the turban of the man at the right contrast vividly with the green scroll design on the blue robe of the man at the left. He stretches his arms forward and allows his full sleeves to display a complete design of this pattern—a pattern said to be worn only by persons of high rank. The purple ends of his turban fall half-way down his back, adding to his dignity, and enhancing the colour scheme. In the type of face and in the mode of its drawing, the head of this man recalls that of the enthroned sultan. Although the patterns on the robes remind one of the pottery and glass of Raghes, the Byzantine influence is, none-the-less, unmistakable.

After the fall of Baghdad in 1258 A.D., the Mongols established themselves in Arabia. Their dynasty was headed by Hulagu, whose brother was Emperor of China. Chinese artists and artisans brought a new spirit and a new technique into the art of the time. We see the end of Arabic art as based on the influence of Byzantium and Mesopotamia, and the beginning of the new Persian art. After this Chinese originals were either copied or used as models. The "Bestiary" in the Morgan Library is a distinguished example of this period. Frequently, too, in the manuscripts, outline drawings slightly washed with pale colours took the place of more complete paintings. Such a drawing heightened by colour is the battle scene (Fig. 3) which is probably the sketch for a saddle-cloth. The first impression is of Chinese art. The faces, armour, floating banners, and fur-tufted spears are those of the Yuan period. The landscape, however, and the composition, the placing of the warriors beyond the hills, are typically Persian. There is a spirit and movement in this scene which is lacking in the drawings of later periods. The horseman at the left with the floating beard and plumed hat, grasps his spear in both hands and turns sharply to meet the expected thrust of the warrior rushing past him. The confusion of battle is shown

in the angles of the lances and the fluttering of the large unfurled banners. In this drawing gold was used, but its effect has been lessened by time. The colours, pale blue, pink and brown-green, are still fresh and give an additional interest to the design. It is this type of drawing which inspired the Timurid artists who surpassed it in delicacy and accuracy of line but not in sense of movement.

An angel in the Goloubew Collection represents the fusion of the Mongol with the Persian traditions and the point reached at the end of the fourteenth century. Had this been merely an outline, the Chinese character would have been even more noticeable than it is now; particularly in the composition and motion of the figure and in the fulness of the face; but the vivid colours are undoubtedly Persian—the pink and green wings, the purple coat and the yellow skirt and sleeves. One sees in this painting the prototype for Bihzad's angels and the colours of which Mirak was so fond.

These two examples must suffice to illustrate the Mongol period, a period from which we have comparatively few manuscripts. The succeeding period of the Timurids is better illustrated. The Timurids were sturdy yet refined warriors. They expelled the Mongols and brought new life into Persian art. In the year 1369 A.D., under Timur the Tartar from West Turkestan, they conquered the Muhammadan world. With a capital at Samarcand and influence at Herat and Bukhara, Timur dominated the whole of Western Asia. His domain was composed of different nations and various civilizations which he held together for over thirty years and upon which he left his stamp, lasting for several centuries. The art of this time is the beginning of Persian painting. All the greatest artists, Bihzad, Agha Mirak, Sultan Muhammad, were born during the latter years of the Timurid period, and their influence was carried throughout Persia and, later, even into India and Turkey.

An example of the Timurid School dating from the late fourteenth century is that of a king enthroned (Fig. 4). This painting is part of a large composition, of which a section to the left belongs to M. Claude Anet. It is illustrated in the *Burlington Magazine* for October, 1912. The King, of strong Chinese physiognomy, sits under a domed pavillon, and leans slightly forward between rich red curtains which are looped back. He turns with outstretched hand toward the left, as if addressing the group of courtiers represented in M. Anet's section. In the foreground flows a silver stream,

bordered by rocks of alternating green and pink-purple. Beyond the fawn-colored dome may be seen two young attendants, and above them floats a white cloud showing the five claws of the Imperial Chinese dragon. On close observation one may discern, on the upper left side of this painting, the tips of two branches of a flowering tree, which appear cut off in M. Anet's example. The colours are vividly fresh and their juxtaposition is most effective.

In contrast with the easy freedom of the sketch for the saddle-cloth (Fig. 3) that of the warrior (Fig. 5) is more precise, showing Persian rather than Chinese influence. Drawn in ink on ivory-coloured paper, with dots of gold on the fabrics and shield and a slight wash of pink over the face and hand, the effect is at once delicate and vigorous. There is a suggestion of stippling on the cheek, hands and ankles to express form, a method rarely used at this time. The skirt of the coat and the bagging trousers are rendered with extreme fineness and care, giving the impression of a soft material. This example dates from the early fifteenth century and is supposed to represent one of Timur's Mongolian warriors.

The miniature which at once best sums up the Timurid period and suggests the future is the one (Fig. 6) representing a prince and princess with two attendants seated beneath a flowering branch. One of the attendants is a musician. Above the figures on a branch of leaves and flowers is perched a blue magpie. In the foreground are two water jugs and a shallow bowl of pomegranates. The Chinese effect of the picture strikes one at once; the brilliant blue of the bird, the pink of the flowers, and above all the branch itself, suggesting Chinese brush-work. The figures, in spite of certain Persian characteristics, are distinctly Chinese.

Perhaps the branch was added later by another artist, copied from memory from some Chinese painting he had seen. In any case, notwithstanding the unfortunate difference in scale, this peaceful scene has a naïve charm, which is often lacking in later compositions with elaborate backgrounds filled with flowering verdure, silver streams, and trees. The colours are delightful—the green leaves contrasting as vividly with the blue bird as the similar green of the prince's robe does with the dark blue and yellow costume of the princess. The turbaned attendant at the left wears a light blue coat over an orange tunic with olive sleeves. These colours are all intensified by being set against the dark brick colour of the rug.

The purple costume of the female musician at the right has been worn away into a mottled pink. This miniature has claim to especial interest, because it comes out of the famous album in which Dr. Martin discovered the portrait attributed to Gentile Bellini now in the possession of Mrs. John L. Gardner. This album was put together for a certain Sultan in the sixteenth century, and remained in the library of the sultans until about forty years ago. It was then given to a court dignitary, whose sons cut it up, selling the different portions.

These nine paintings and drawings have been described from originals in the collection in the Boston Museum as the best examples of their several types. They show the development of Persian painting to the third quarter of the fifteenth century. By that time the Byzantine influence had completely passed away; also the free lines and rich colours of the local tradition of Raghes. The coming of the Mongols and Timurids had had its effect. In the Mongol and Timurid schools we have the beginning of the Persian tradition pure and simple, a tradition which has its affiliations not with Byzantium, but with China. A Chinese cast was given to the features, Chinese accessories were introduced. The figures become more slender, the drawing more precise, the compositions more elaborate. It was these later models that Bihzad and his pupils studied; upon them they formed their style. We shall constantly be reminded of this fact, when looking at the paintings of the late fifteenth, and sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Because of Chinese influence, too, the pen drawings heightened by pale colours became a type which in the later times became universally popular in India. Hundreds of portraits in this mode were produced, of which there are many in the collection of the Museum. The examples we have been considering are the prototype for those which are to follow.



Fig. 6. PRINCE, PRINCESS AND TWO ATTENDANTS.
Timurid School; strong Chinese influence; first half of fifteenth century.
Golubew Collection.

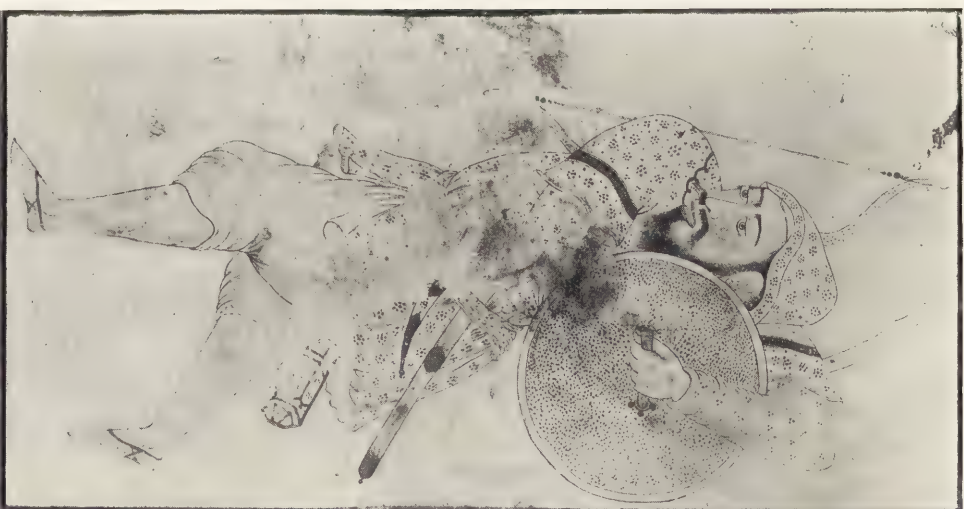


Fig. 5. MONGOLIAN WARRIOR.
Timurid School; first half of fifteenth century.
Golubew Collection.

A TRIPTYCH BY ALLEGRETTO NUZI AT DETROIT :
BY CHANDLER R. POST

AMONG the interesting and almost unknown group of paintings presented to the Detroit Museum of Art by the late James E. Scripps is a charming little triptych of the fourteenth century (No. 3), formerly in the collection of the Marchese del Turco at Florence, and ascribed by Berenson¹ and by Mary Logan² to Allegretto Nuzi. The justness of the ascription and the great significance of the work for a comprehension of Nuzi's personality must be evident even to the casual student.

In the central panel the Virgin and Child are enthroned beneath a golden *baldacchino* of the type that Arnolfo da Cambio had popularized at Rome and Giotto had introduced into painting. Our Lady is clad in the traditional red undergarment and blue mantle, the latter diapered with an elaborate pattern of brocade, and lined with fur. At the sides of the dais, in symmetrical balance, stand two of the master's loveliest angels in blue tunics. From the throne the rich tapestry is stretched in front of the angels to the edges of the panel, and relieved against this, in the foreground, are two saints. John the Baptist in the place of honor at the right of the Virgin wears a pink robe over his camelskin, and is more stalwart, less gaunt and forbidding than usual. The feminine saint at the left, in the absence of any more definite attributes than the book of pious wisdom, the conventionalized martyr's palm, and the princess's crown, we may conjecture to be Catherine of Alexandria, who was so prominent in the category of virgin-saints that it was sometimes not thought necessary to distinguish her by her ordinary symbol, the wheel. The book, indeed, is carried by some of the other saintly virgins, but it is peculiarly the property of St. Catherine, as the patroness of learning. The similar figure in the Berlin diptych by Allegretto Nuzi is identified in the catalogue as St. Catherine, although she has no more attributes than in the Detroit example.

The wings of the triptych represent the beginning and the end of Christ's life. In the left is the Nativity, forced by the narrowness of the panel into an upright composition, in which the proclamation to the shepherds has to be set directly above the manger and is made as important as the Birth itself. A particular interest is added

¹ *Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, lists at end.

² *L'exposition d'ancien art ombrien à Pérouse*, *Gazette des beaux-arts*, xxxviii, 222.

by the exquisite flight of angels, making music and lifting their hands in ecstatic adoration over the holy cave. The right wing, the least successful part of the altarpiece, contains a somewhat rigid Crucifixion. In the St. John, Nuzi vainly strains at expressiveness; the Magdalene grasps the foot of the cross in a stiff and unconvincing embrace; one's eye is arrested rather by the really tragic figure of the swooning Mother and by the noble tenderness of the holy women who support her. The pinnacles of the wings are reserved, as not uncommonly, for the Annunciation. In all these panels the place of the sky is taken by gold backgrounds with a border of pure design.

The significance of the triptych lies in the fact that, although manifestly a very early work, it already presents in embryo those qualities which, from the evolutionary standpoint, define Allegretto Nuzi in his maturity as an important figure in the development of Italian art, and which, from the absolute standpoint, give him a distinct and honorable seat among the world's secondary masters. This one painting enables the American student to obtain an adequate conception of his whole career. Very few of his works are in America, the only ones known to the writer being a single image of St. John Evangelist, a diptych of the Madonna and the Pietà, and two productions of his school in the Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, a large bishop-saint, owned by Mr. Horace Morison of Boston, and a doubtfully attributed St. Anne, belonging to Professor Mather of Princeton¹; but none of these examples has the comprehensive importance of the Detroit triptych.

Upon it are impressed unmistakably the traces of his discipleship. The first great figure of the bright and gentle school of Fabriano in the Marches, he is unknown to history until 1346, when he matriculates at Florence in the guild of apothecaries and physicians, where the painters were generally enrolled.² How much training he had already obtained before he came to the artistic center of Italy is a question; the outstanding fact is that now he became a pupil of Bernardo Daddi. No work demonstrates the relationship more conclusively than the Detroit triptych. The composition of

¹ The attribution is made, so far as I know, by only one critic. Professor Mather himself questions it; and from the photograph which he has kindly sent me, I should be disposed to agree with him in assigning the lovely panel to some later painter of Fabriano, who had seen the work of Gentile.

² Suida's differentiation of the Allegretto Nucci registered at Florence from Allegretto Nuzi of Fabriano (*Florentinische Maler um die Mitte des xiv Jahrhunderts*, pp. 43 ff.) is generally discredited.



Fig. 1. ALLEGRETTO NUZI: TRIPTYCH.
The Detroit Museum of Art. Gift of the late James E. Scripps.



the central panel, with the Virgin enthroned between angels and with saints in the foreground, is often employed by Daddi, notably in the altarpieces at Ruballa and in the Sterbini Collection, Rome. The canopy in Daddi's late work, No. 127 of the Academy, Florence, is similar to that used by Nuzi. The type of the Virgin and Child is much the same, especially when in Daddi's more advanced period the somewhat elongated forms give way to ampler bodies and rounder heads. Allegretto inherits and develops further the Florentine master's predilection for magnificent fabrics. But a curious and striking confirmation of the connection exists in a triptych belonging to Dr. Giulio Ruozzi of Spello (Fig. 3), exhibited for the first time in the *Mostra* of Umbrian art at Perugia, 1907 (*Gabinetto della Torre*, No. 6). Assigned by Mason Perkins,¹ Mary Logan,² and Umberto Gnoli³ to Daddi, it suggests Nuzi so vividly that it was actually but wrongly given to him by Walter Rothes.⁴ The subjects and, except for a few variations in detail, the compositions are identical with those of the Detroit shrine, even to the Annunciation of the pinnacles and the border of the gold backgrounds. Two masculine saints take the place of the angels beside the throne, and as a pendant to the richly robed St. Catherine, for St. John Baptist is substituted St. Agnes.

Venturi⁵ discerns in Nuzi the slight influence also of another great Florentine master, Andrea Orcagna. It is perhaps under this stimulus that he impresses upon his altarpieces a more pronounced religious dignity and severity than was usually attained by Daddi or by the benign Umbrians. In the Detroit example, the woman who just beneath the cross supports the fainting Virgin is infused with a solemn religious intensity that even suggests Giotto. A little triptych in the Historical Society, New York, ascribed by Sirén to the school of Orcagna,⁶ resembles our picture both in subject and composition, but the proper explanation is probably that the parallelisms in both cases are derived from the Daddi *bottega*.

Because of all these Florentine characteristics, Berenson in his lists for the "Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance" attaches the *E* that means early to this alone among the works of Allegretto

¹ *La pittura all'esposizione d'arte antica, Rassegna d'arte*, VII, 89. He calls it an early work of Daddi.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 222.

³ *L'arte umbra alla mostra di Perugia*, Bergamo, 1908, p. 28.

⁴ *Alt-umbrische Malerschulen*, p. 21.

⁵ *Storia dell'arte italiana*, V, 842, 848.

⁶ *Art in America*, II, 275.

Nuzi.¹ If we may assert that among his certainly authentic pictures it is the only one that is certainly early, it acquires a new and peculiar significance.² The panels were obviously executed immediately in connection with his sojourn at Florence; but do they retain any evidence of a previous and more youthful training? It is a curious phenomenon of Trecento art that Siennese models enjoyed a wider vogue than Giottesque, not only in Italy but, through the papal court at Avignon, in a large part of Spain and northern Europe. But it would have been a still more curious phenomenon if, when Umbria and the Marches were flooded with the Siennese current, Allegretto Nuzi at Fabriano had escaped intact. And yet so distinguished a writer as Mary Logan believes that this is exactly what happened.³ She stands, however, almost alone. Among the many other prominent experts who have devoted attention to the subject, Colasanti concerns us most, when he says that Nuzi was subjected to Siennese influences before he studied at Florence.⁴ Daddi himself was no stranger to the painting of the rival Tuscan city, but certain characteristics, such as the types of the angels, the cult of splendor in costumes and accessories, and the spatial composition of the central panel, may be derived directly from the Lorenzetti as well as from him. The Detroit triptych, however, reveals a more intimate knowledge of Siennese art than Nuzi could have absorbed from his master. The flight of angels in the Nativity is suggestive. Giotto in his Paduan composition had introduced a few angels over the stable in such an agitated flutter as to seem in very truth "birds of God," but the compact, symmetrical, and quieter grouping of a larger number and their location directly upon the cave are motives that begin in Siennese painting with the part of Duccio's *pala* now in Berlin. Although the rounder and fuller faces for the Virgin and Child constitute one of Nuzi's mannerisms, the forms in general often possess a Siennese lightness and grace, and the execution usually is marked by an extreme and delightful Siennese delicacy. In the Detroit painting, especially important from these aspects are the angels about the throne, and in the Nativity, the St. John, and above all the ethereal St. Catherine.

¹ Cf. also Berenson's catalogue of the Johnson Collection, p. 68.

² Berenson mentions a triptych with exactly the same subjects in the Collection Maciet of the Museum at Dijon; but since I have been unable to get a photograph of this, I can make no statement about its chronological or general relation to the Detroit painting.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 223.

⁴ *Note sull' antica pittura fabrianese, L'arte*, IX, 272.



Fig. 2. ALLEGRETTO NUZI: BISHOP-SAINT.
Collection of Mr. Horace Morison, Boston.

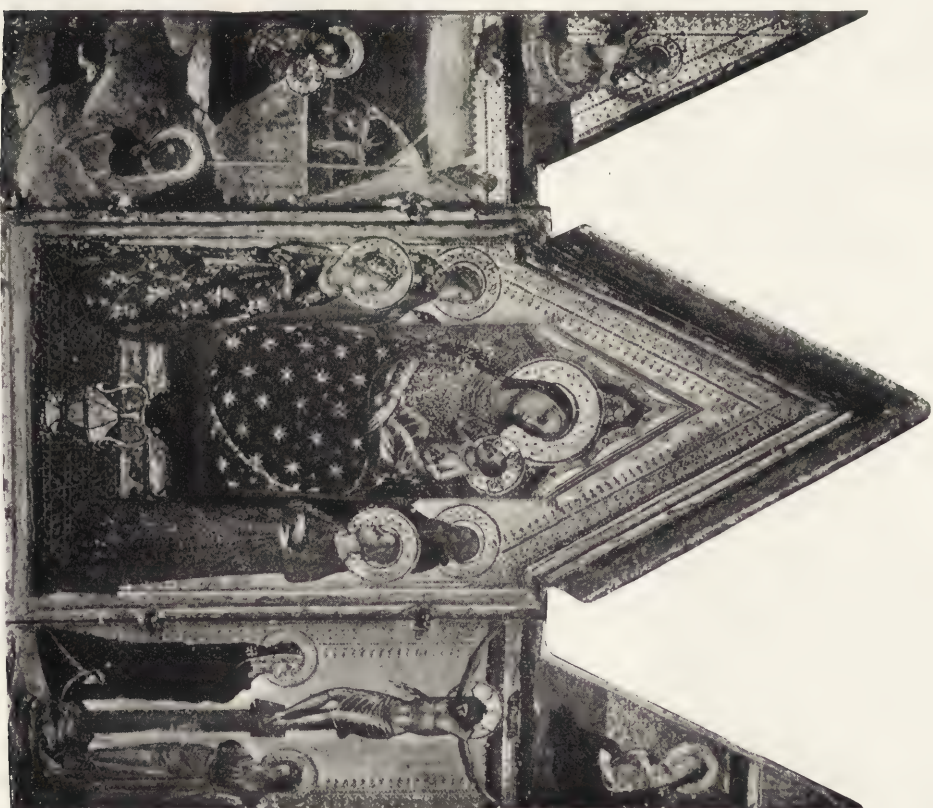


Fig. 3. BERNARDO DADDI: MADONNA ENTHRONED.
Collection of Dr. Giulio Ruozi, Spello, Italy.

According to the tedious velleity of modern criticism, I have lingered long over the question of stylistic provenance, but the Detroit triptych may be taken also as a text for a sermon on those qualities which, apart from his origins, make Allegretto Nuzi a significant personality in the history of Italian and, indeed, of European art. Concrete magnificence is a legitimate, though minor, constituent of good art. The appeal to the more childlike and less tutored instincts has its proper place in esthetics as well as the appeal to the more developed and more sophisticated parts of our psychology through design, realization of form, and harmonious color. But if the lower appeal is all, if it is not sublimated by being united to the higher, the resulting product remains merely vulgar. No one of his predecessors or contemporaries loved sumptuous fabrics so much as Allegretto Nuzi; in themselves they would be nothing, but combined with those more sterling traits that I have tried to indicate in discussing his training, they distinctly enhance the value of his paintings. The brocade on the Virgin's fur-lined mantle in the Detroit example, virtually identical in pattern with the similar garment of the Berlin diptych, is much more pretentious than that in the parallel work by Daddi at Spello; and in Nuzi's later period the stuffs are to be enriched with still more elaborate figures of sun-flowers, parrots, and tortoises. The simple, homely, *bourgeois* forms of Giotto and of Giotto's more faithful followers would ill befit such magnificence of dress; Allegretto turns rather to the more formal and aristocratic forms of Siena. But the languid mysticism of the Sienese saints ill accords with the heavy-laden stiffness of the vestments; and he has recourse to the stern religious solemnity of Orcagna. The older he grows, the more opulent become the sacred robes; and the more opulent the robes, the more hieratic the bodies that they clothe. The devotion of Orcagna's characters remains the devotion of real men and women, but Nuzi finally, as in the Three Saints of the Fabriano Gallery, crystallizes it into an almost Byzantine formalism. His conception of the office of a picture approaches the Byzantine; it is to be decoration rather than representation. The difference is that he conventionalizes, not Greek, but Giottesque and Sienese prototypes. He sets before himself the definite ideal of religious stateliness, and his evolution is a consistent progress towards its realization. In the end, all things are brought into harmony with his theory,—the personages have the aloofness of an officiating priest,

the vestments are appropriate to the ceremonial pomp of the greatest feasts, and the whole picture is suggestive of a grandiose ecclesiasticism. The Detroit triptych retains the freshness of an early work, but it is already prophetic of Nuzi's maturity.

Nuzi's definitive style is well illustrated in the superb Bishop-Saint which was lately shown at the Loan Exhibition of Italian painting in the Fogg Museum, Harvard. Through the kindness of Mr. Morison and of Mr. Forbes, the director, I am permitted to publish a photograph (Fig. 2). The saint sits upon a throne inlaid with *opus tessellatum*. He is clothed in the full episcopal insignia,—an alb, a greenish-blue tunicle or dalmatic, and a brilliant red chasuble with resplendent orphreys. With one of his gloved hands he blesses, and with the other he holds a book; at his feet kneels a Dominican sister in miniature. The figure recalls the sainted bishop in the polyptych of the cathedral at Fabriano and the St. Augustine of the Galleria Civica; the formal design of curls in the beard is indicative of the Sienese attitude towards art. The panel is mentioned by Langton Douglas in his edition of Crowe and Cavalcaselle, III, 181.

Nuzi's artistic ideal was in some respects analogous to that of Venice, and his connection with the more northern school was very intimate. He himself may have sojourned at Venice,¹ and in any case, through his greater pupil, Gentile da Fabriano, he helped to stimulate the innate Venetian proclivity for religious splendor. A direct relation may be traced between the primitive magnificence of this sequestered Umbrian master and the glorious pageants of Paolo Veronese.

¹ A. Ricci, *Memorie storiche*, I, 88.

A GOTHIC HUNTING TAPESTRY AT MINNEAPOLIS BY JOSEPH BRECK

IN January of this year, when the new museum in Minneapolis was opened, Mrs. Charles J. Martin of that city announced her intention of assembling, under the advice of the director, a collection of tapestries which would be presented, as acquired, to the Institute. It is not contemplated that the collection shall be a large one, but in choosing characteristic examples of the great periods of tapestry weaving, every effort will be made to secure examples of the highest merit. The tapestries, which will be known as the Charles Jairus Martin Memorial Collection of Tapestries, in memory of Mrs. Martin's husband, will be distributed throughout the various period rooms in the Institute. With a consideration which other donors to museums might emulate, Mrs. Martin has not only placed no hampering restrictions upon her generous gift, but, in assembling the tapestries under the advice of the director, has made certain that the pieces acquired will meet the needs of the museum. The choice of material to be presented is a somewhat unusual one, but shows a thoughtful understanding of the problems confronting a new museum. With the many demands made upon the limited income of a young institution just starting its collections in many fields, it would have been impossible for years to acquire two such remarkable tapestries as those recently presented to the museum by Mrs. Martin as the first pieces in her collection. One of these is an extremely beautiful Florentine tapestry of the High Renaissance, woven in the Arazzeria Medici about 1550 from a cartoon by Francesco Salviati. The other, one of the most important Gothic tapestries in any collection, public or private, in this country, was woven in the ateliers of Arras about 1450, and forms the subject of the present notes.

The illustration permits me to dispense with a detailed description of the tapestry. In a flowery meadow with castle and trees in the background, a gay hunting party of falconers is assembled. Certain of these magnificently dressed ladies and gentlemen carry the birds upon their gloved hands; one man has released his falcon; another is removing the hood from the bird's head. In the upper right-hand corner one of the hunters is waving a lure, a pair of bird's wings attached to a cord, to which the falcon is trained

to return after his flight. Nearby, in the upper part of the tapestry, is represented two falcons attacking a heron. Flying in large circles, the falcons have risen above the heron and turned upon it. In the fifteenth century falconry played a significant part in the social life of the nobility. It was a favorite sport which occupied the attention of both men and women. This is not the place to enter into a description of this ancient sport, which has its own extensive literature; it is only necessary to call attention to the vivid illustration which this tapestry affords of one of the characteristic amusements of the Middle Ages.

The costumes are typical of the extravagant fashions which prevailed in the middle of the fifteenth century. The ladies wear trailing gowns of sumptuously patterned fabrics bordered with fur. On their heads they wear fantastic, bossed cauls drawn high on each side of the face so that the headdress assumes the shape of a heart. Veils flowing from wires set in the cauls produce a butterfly effect. Hardly less ornate are the costumes worn by the men. Their head-dresses are enormous turbanlike structures. Their jackets, with voluminous sleeves, are made of richly ornamented stuffs and, like their other garments, are bordered and lined with fur. They wear high boots, red in color like the stockings or tights that cover the legs above. It would be hard to imagine so splendid a company in the bleak fields of November. With delightful propriety they have gathered in a meadow luxuriously carpeted with tiny flowers against a background of foliage, fruit and blossoms.

This tapestry will recall at once, to anyone at all familiar with the subject, the famous Hardwicke Hall hunting tapestries, belonging to the Duke of Devonshire, and now on loan in the Victoria and Albert Museum. These celebrated hunting tapestries have justly been called "the finest of the fifteenth century in England." Two of them, fragments of larger pieces, deal partly with the sport of falconry. One of these shows a lady on horseback who has been identified from the marguerites on her dress and the letter "M" on the trappings of her horse as Margaret of Anjou, wife of the English King Henry VI (1422-1461). These hunting tapestries formerly hung in Hardwicke Hall, Derbyshire, but were removed from there in the sixteenth century and cut to adapt them, in their new location, to walls pierced with windows.

Taking into consideration the similarity in subject, costume, and

style of representation, it is not at all impossible that the tapestry now owned by the Minneapolis Institute may have belonged, originally, to this celebrated set.¹ Unquestionably the tapestry was woven in the same atelier and from cartoons by the same artist, who, it may be remarked, probably drew his inspiration from some illuminated manuscript on hunting. The Minneapolis tapestry, evidently part of a still larger tapestry (they were often woven of great length so that they would cover the entire wall of a banqueting hall), may have been separated from the other pieces of the set when they were divided at the time of their removal from Hardwicke Hall in the sixteenth century. Whether or not it can be established that the Minneapolis tapestry formed part of the Hardwicke Hall set, the fact is evident that it is identical in style and execution with these famous tapestries.

Tapestries of this period, it need hardly be stated, are among the rarest of art objects. They were the treasured possessions of kings and great noblemen, but the ravages of war and accidents of time have destroyed, for the most part, these beautiful memorials of a far-distant age. In fact, the discovery of a Burgundian tapestry of the period represented by the Institute's new acquisition is a matter of world-wide interest. Such tapestries in American collections are very few in number. There are, for example, the Esther and Ahasuerus tapestry in the Hoentschel Collection, lent by Mr. Morgan to the Metropolitan Museum, and, in the same museum, the three fragments of tapestries known as the Giving of the Rose, the set of the Sacraments, and the Siege of Jerusalem. In other collections are hardly more than two or three pieces. None of these surpasses in historical importance or in intrinsic beauty the marvelous fabric which will make, hereafter, the Minneapolis Institute of Arts a pilgrimage shrine to all lovers of tapestries.

Little has been said of the æsthetic merit of this tapestry, because it must be seen in all its glowing beauty of color to be truly appreciated. With the greens and browns of the foliage, the rich crimson and blue, the green and violet of the costumes form agreeable harmonies, reminding one of the sonorous color of stained glass.

¹ The Minneapolis tapestry measures eleven feet two and one-half inches in height by ten feet nine inches in width. Although the Hardwicke Hall tapestries are somewhat higher, the Minneapolis tapestry has probably lost some of the cloud bands at the top, which would account for the slight difference in height.

As an example of mural decoration it would be difficult to find a more perfect illustration of architectonic design. The figures and their accessories decorate the wall rather than destroy it by giving the illusion of space. Would that the lesson might be learned by our mural decorators!

ANDREA VANNI ANNUNCIATION IN THE FOGG MUSEUM, HARVARD · BY G. H. EDGELL

IN June, 1913, Mr. Edward W. Forbes, Director of the Fogg Museum of Art at Cambridge, organized the "Society of Friends of the Fogg Museum." This organization, modelled upon the "Amis du Louvre," was intended as a means of enlisting the aid of all persons interested in the Fogg Museum, for the purchase of new works of art. The society thus organized gave an earnest of its good faith by the purchase, in April, 1914, of a painting by the Sienese master Andrea Vanni (Fig. 3).

The subject of the composition is the Annunciation, but whether the tidings be the glad ones of the coming of Jesus, or the sad ones of the death of Mary, it is not so easy to determine. The distinction between the scenes is, in general, made iconographically by the plant carried in the hand of Gabriel. In the happier, and far more frequently represented event, Gabriel carries a lily; in the more sombre scene a palm branch. Vanni seems to have chosen the latter for his representation, though the branch which his Gabriel carries, while certainly not a lily, is not a very convincing study of a palm. Gabriel Annunciate at times bears the olive bough as a symbol of peace on earth, but Vanni's plant cannot possibly be mistaken for an olive.

The attribution of the work to Andrea Vanni has been generally accepted. The painting has been mentioned by Mr. F. Mason Perkins (*The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. II, 1903, p. 316) and Professor Venturi ("Storia dell' Arte italiana," Vol. V, pp. 748-9) and appears in Mr. Berenson's list. It is also noted in Mr. Langton Douglas's revised edition of Crowe and Cavalcaselle's "History of Italian Painting." In every case the attribution to Vanni is sustained, and since so many eminent critics are in harmony, the chances are slight that Vanni's authorship will ever be questioned.



Fig. 1. ANDREA VANNI: MADONNA.
Collection of Mr. Bernhard Berenson,
Settignano, Italy.



Fig. 2. ANDREA VANNI: DETAIL: THE ANNUNCIATION.
From the polyptych in the Church of Santo Stefano alla
Lizza, Siena, Italy.



Fig. 3. ANDREA VANNI: THE ANNUNCIATION.
Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

When the panel was seen by Messrs. Perkins, Berenson and Douglas it was in the possession of Count Fabio Chigi, in the Saracini palace at Siena. Venturi reproduces the work as in the municipal gallery at Siena, but this must surely be due to a confusion in the critic's notes, for the panel has never been owned by the municipality. The panel was exhibited in the *Mostra d'arte senese*, where Professor Venturi may have seen it. After the death of Count Fabio Chigi many of the pieces in the Saracini collection were sold, and among them the Vanni Annunciation.

In form the Fogg Museum work is a diptych. Its dimensions are small. The two panels are approximately the same in size and proportions, but there is just enough variation to prove that the original construction was free-hand.¹ For example, the left-hand, or Gabriel panel, including the frame, which is essentially a part of the original composition, measures $16\frac{1}{4}$ inches across the base, while the right-hand, or Madonna panel measures but $15\frac{1}{4}$. Furthermore, the height of the Gabriel panel, from the base to the apex of the frame, is 2 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, while the Madonna panel is half an inch taller.

The condition of the diptych is both good and bad. Time has touched it rudely; the restorer hardly at all. The colors have faded, many of the pigments have darkened, and the usual worms have bored their holes profusely over the surface. On the other hand, what one sees is almost wholly the work of the original artist. Any connoisseur will agree that this advantage well compensates for any damage which mere time may have wrought.

Thanks, probably, to his numerous political activities, Vanni's artistic works are very rare. The basis for all knowledge of his style is the great polyptych in the church of Santo Stefano alla Lizza at Siena (Fig. 2). Here the artist reveals himself as a follower of the Lorenzetti, and especially of Simone Martini. He exhibits, however, a strong individuality as well. The Christ-Child and the Baptist are almost copies of Simone's works, but the Madonna and St. Stephen are creations of Vanni's own. Especially the Madonna shows a distinct modification of Simone's style. Simone's flowing line is reduced, and the intricate folds of his draperies simplified. On the other hand, Simone's low relief is accentuated until there is hardly more than a flat tone in any given field. Vanni thus obtains an

¹ This discrepancy indicates that the work was not originally planned as a diptych, but is rather two detached pinnacles from the upper order of a greater composition.—Ed.

almost silhouette-like character for his figures. The Japanese effect of Simone is emphasized. The facial type mirrors Vanni's personal conception. One soon comes to recognize the rounded skull, the narrow eyes, the abnormally long nose, the delicate mouth, the sharply drawn but tiny chin. The type appears in all of Vanni's works. It can easily be studied in Mr. Berenson's Madonna (Fig. 1) at Settignano. The color in any single field is delicate and subdued, but the whole color scheme is so skilfully handled that the effect is brilliant, and each color seems to sing.

Turning again to the Fogg Museum diptych, any connoisseur will recognize immediately the debt to Simone. Vanni's work is really an adaptation of Simone's great Annunciation in the Uffizi gallery. It is, however, far from a mere copy. Vanni has rigorously carried out his economy of line. The fields of the latter painting are much flatter. The types are quite different. Compare the physiognomies of the two Gabriels. Vanni's head is much rounder, its forehead higher, its hair simpler in design.

The date of the Fogg Museum piece is impossible to determine. Certainly it represents the artist's mature style, and bears no relation to the Berlin Madonna and Child, attributed by Mr. Berenson to Vanni, and marked by him "early." In style our panel is closest to the Santo Stefano altarpiece, which was painted about 1400 and is therefore a late work. The greater delicacy of the color in the Fogg Museum piece would probably indicate a somewhat earlier date.

One is naturally interested in comparing the Fogg Museum Annunciation with Vanni's other compositions of the same subject. Unfortunately the artist's only other extant Annunciations both throw difficulties in the way of comparison. One is but a detail from the Santo Stefano altarpiece. In the small panel above the Madonna's head one sees an Annunciation, strongly reminiscent of our panel. The two Gabriels are almost identical in drawing and type as well as in the color of the drapery—a rich creamy-white embroidered with gold. The Madonna in the Santo Stefano detail is slightly different in pose from the one in the Fogg Museum, but in type, line, and silhouette-like quality shows the same hand. Unfortunately, the Santo Stefano Annunciation, but an insignificant detail in a monumental altarpiece, is rather carelessly painted and has never adequately been reproduced in a photograph.

The only other Annunciation attributed to Vanni is a ruined fresco in the Church of San Giovenale at Orvieto.¹ The condition of this fresco is so bad that one can hardly draw any conclusions from it. The Madonna is close in style to the one in the detail from the Santo Stefano altarpiece. The Gabriel, while similar in color to the Fogg Museum and Sienese pieces, is so different in type as to cause one to doubt the attribution to Vanni. In the triptych in the Siena gallery, representing St. Michael Enthroned with SS. John the Baptist and Anthony Abbott, attributed to Vanni, there are two panels on opposite sides of the altarpiece representing the Annunciation. Since the figures are standing, are different in drapery and pose, and the composition is not a unit, this detail is useless for our comparison.

The Fogg Museum piece, therefore, must be judged on its own merits or demerits. Few will hold that the former do not outweigh the latter. One accepts the flat modelling and stiff lines as characteristic of the painter. One regrets the damaged mantle of the Madonna, changed by time from blue to a dark gray-green. Nor can one fail to note with sadness the many other marks of time: the wormholes, the many chinks through which the *bolo* reddens the gold background, the darkened umber of the drapery linings. Faults of technique and ravages of time one forgets, however, before the real beauty of the whole. The delicacy of sentiment, like the delicate technique, the quiet spirit, the sincere religious feeling, all reflect the fine work of Siena's great period.

EARLY TEXTILES IN THE COOPER UNION COLLECTION* : PART ONE · BY R. MEYER-RIEFSTAHL

INTRODUCTION.

TEXTILES, it is sometimes said, are things for the specialist. But this is a mistake, for hardly any other branch of art affords a clearer view of the interaction of different peoples and of the development and the migration of artistic styles during the course of the centuries. Moreover, the fabrics that teach us all

¹ Published by Guido Cagnola in the *Rassegna d'Arte*, Feb.-Mar., 1903. The copy in San Pietro Ovile, Siena, of Simone Martini's Uffizi Annunciation has often been published as a work of Vanni. The author cannot accept it as such, and in any case, since it is merely a copy, it has little bearing on our discussion.

* Translated by Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer.

in which (without reference to the Cooper Union collection) we shall try to sketch the origin of the so-called mediæval style in silks, considering whether it derives from Sassanian or from Alexandrian art. A series of reproductions of Coptic tapestries will illustrate Part II, in which we shall glance at the development of late Græco-Roman and Coptic tapestries. And with Part III we shall reproduce a set of unique and remarkable tapestries with figure subjects (hitherto unpublished) which were made in Egypt in the time of the Fatimites. Three separate studies of this kind seemed preferable to a more or less mechanical description of the best pieces in the Cooper Union collection, and later on another chapter may perhaps be added dealing with some Chinese silks, also in Cooper Union, which were found in Egyptian tombs of the fourteenth century, and discussing the influence of Chinese art upon the Oriental and Italian textiles of the same period.

EARLY-MEDIÆVAL TEXTILES AND THE STYLE THEY EXHIBIT.

There is a surprising similarity between the textiles of all countries during the early-mediæval period. They are all based upon the same scheme of composition: the ground of the fabric is covered with medallions, sometimes independent, sometimes joined by interlacing bands; in these medallions are representations of human figures or animals; and usually the same design is repeated, in symmetrical opposition, to right and left of a tree which fills the middle of the medallion. This medallion style prevailed in Nearer Asia and in Europe until, in the silks of the Gothic period, it was replaced by an asymmetrical scheme of composition imitated from Chinese models.

The origin of this early-mediæval style offers a very interesting problem. We know enough today about the textile art of the first seven centuries of the Christian era to affirm that only two sources need be considered—the Egyptian textile industry, the centre of which was at Alexandria, and the textile art of the Sassanid kingdom, which extended not only over Persia but also over Mesopotamia as far as the Roman frontier along the Euphrates. It has been a generally accepted belief that the cradle of mediæval textile art

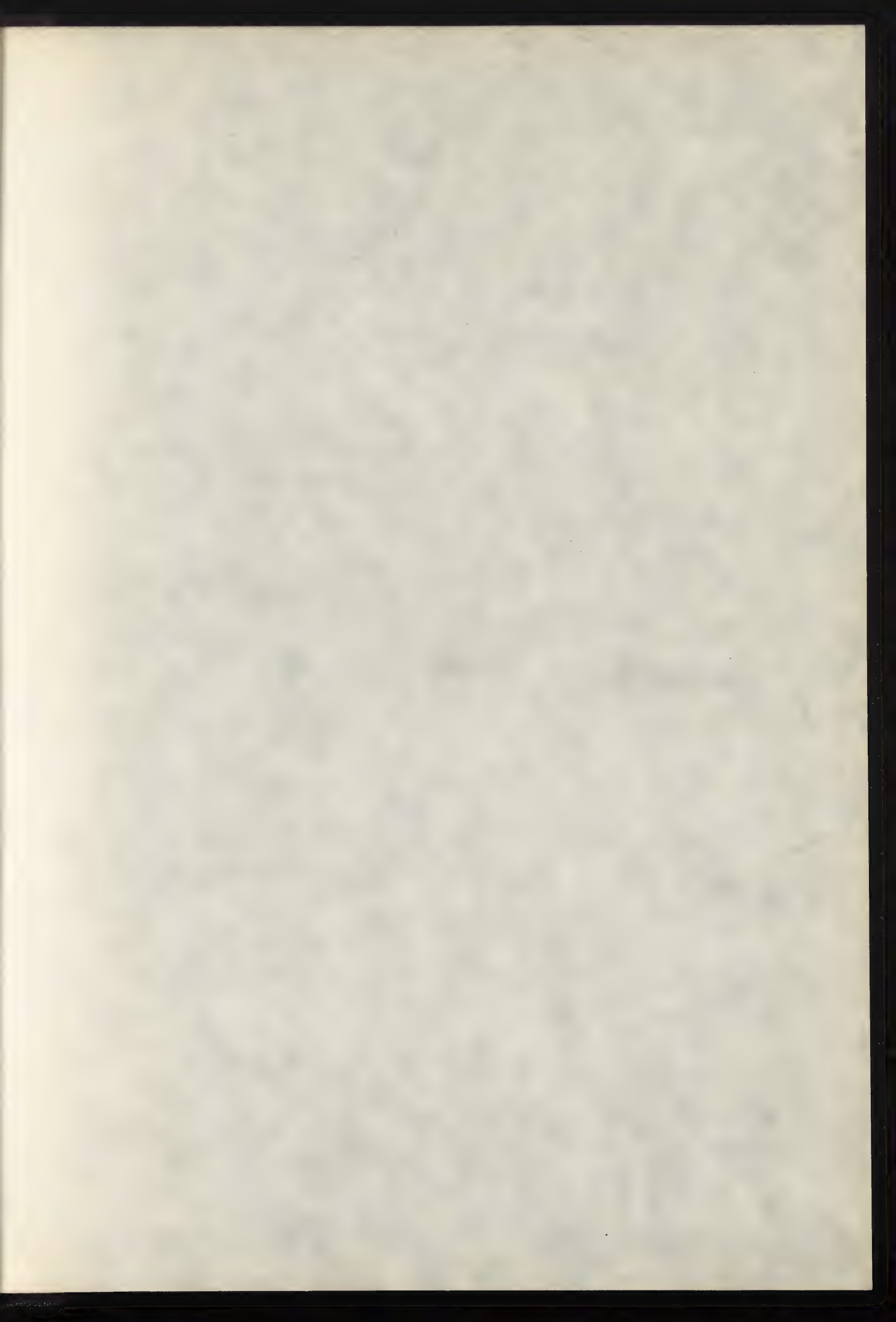




FIG. 1. PERSIAN SILK. 8TH CENTURY.
RED, YELLOW, WHITE. No. 246. 58x48, 5 cm.
COOPER UNION, NEW YORK.



stood in the Sassanid kingdom, but recently Otto von Falke,¹ carefully reconsidering the question, decided that a considerable number of so-called Sassanian silks show Græco-Roman elements and must therefore be ascribed to the Alexandrian industry, and that there was a flourishing textile industry in Syria and in Egypt at a time when ancient authors do not mention a Persian textile art. No extant Persian specimens are of earlier date than the sixth or seventh century. Falke concludes, therefore, that the origin of the mediæval medallion style is to be found in Egypt, not in Persia, and that Persian textile art developed only under Græco-Roman influence. Nevertheless we venture to maintain the Oriental origin of mediæval textile art, and shall try to formulate another theory based rather upon commercial than upon artistic arguments—a theory which finds the artistic origin of the mediæval style in the Sassanid kingdom but attributes its industrial and commercial extension throughout all the Mediterranean countries to the activity of the vast Alexandrian textile industry.

The medallion style seems to us to be the offspring of an ancient Oriental tradition. The fact that Græco-Roman authors do not mention Sassanian textile art may be explained by the relative exclusion of the Sassanid realm, always hostile to the Roman Empire, from the international traffic between Rome and the Orient. On the other hand, ancient authors agree in speaking about the huge organization of the Alexandrian textile industry, which maintained a continuous and considerable trade with all parts of the Roman Empire as well as with India, Arabia, and East Africa. As taste in the Roman Empire showed an increasing tendency toward Oriental patterns and an Oriental richness of color, the Alexandrian designers copied the textiles of their great Oriental neighbors, the Sassanians. It cannot be doubted, although ancient authors do not mention the fact, that the Sassanians had a textile industry of their own, supplied with silk that was imported from China through Central Asia, and adequate to meet the home demand. But although we are pretty well informed, especially by the *Periplus maris Erythræi*, in regard to the trade between the Roman Empire and the East, we hear nothing of an active trade between the Romans and Sassanians while we

¹ Otto von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*. Berlin, 1913.

² *Periplus maris Erythræi*, translated from the Greek by W. H. Schoff. New York, 1912; *Periplus*, Greek text and German translation by B. Fabritius, Leipzig, 1883.

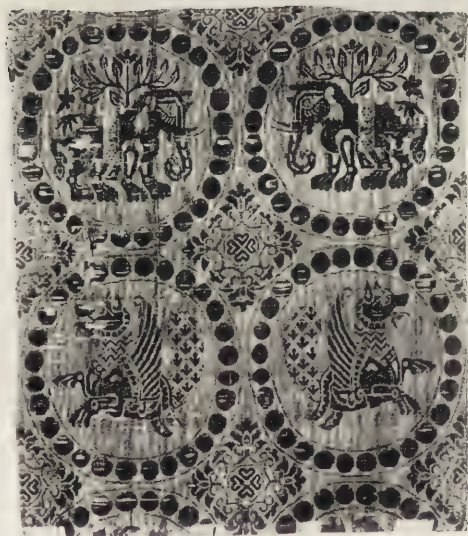
do hear of a considerable exportation of Alexandrian textiles to all the countries of the Orient.

It has been said that the silk supply of the Roman Empire depended upon Sassanian intermediaries who controlled both the trade itself and the prices of the wares. This would indicate a great Sassanian industry and also the Sassanian origin of silk patterns, but it does not seem to tally with the facts, as a short glance at the history and the methods of the silk trade will prove.

Silk came from China. It was known in Italy as early as the time of the Roman Republic, but its production was a secret carefully guarded by the Chinese. According to the statements of ancient authors, there were four main routes for the traffic in silk between China and the Roman Empire: 1. A caravan route through Central Asia, passing to the north of the Parthian (afterwards the Sassanian) kingdom—a difficult and insecure road and consequently one of little practical importance. 2. Caravan transport to a Persian intermediary who controlled the price of the merchandise and sold it to Palmyra or Antioch. This route was of course cut off during the frequent political conflicts between the Romans and the Persians. 3. Caravan transport through Central Asia to Barygaza (near Bombay) and shipment from there to Alexandria. 4. Shipment from China to Ceylon, by Indian or Chinese or very rarely by Roman merchants, and from Ceylon to Egypt. The shipping business between India and Egypt was at first in the hands of natives of Arabia Felix, but after the first century of our era these were supplanted by Egypto-Roman shippers who were aided by a differential customs tariff established by imperial Rome.¹

The influence of the Sassanians on the silk trade has been overestimated. They were a disturbing factor in international traffic, and their territories and spheres of influence were probably avoided as much as possible by the great international trade routes of that time. That the prices of silk were so enormous in the Roman Empire was probably the fault not of the hostile Parthian but of the peaceful and honest Roman middle-man who imported the silk by way of Barygaza and Alexandria, and controlled prices. Only when the trade between India and Rome broke down in the terrible economic crisis of the Late-Roman Empire, did Justin II try in vain, about the year 568, to secure a supply of silk by way of the northern

¹ Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, Berlin, 1885, V, p. 616.



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Fig. 2. SASSANIAN STONE RELIEF AT TAGH-I-BOSTAN. 7TH CENTURY.
Detail of the silk garment of a hunting King; after Lessing.

Fig. 3. BYZANTINE SILK IN SASSANIAN STYLE. 9TH CENTURY.
Yellow, purple, black. No. 232. 16x30 cm.; diam. of medallion 15,5 cm.

Fig. 4. PERSIAN SILK. 8TH-9TH CENTURY.
Dark blue and buff. No. 235. 28x16 cm.

Fig. 5. BYZANTINE SILK IN SASSANIAN STYLE. 11TH CENTURY.
Red, dark green, bright blue. No. 245. 32x51 cm.; diam. med. 16 cm.

Copper Union, New York.

caravan route, avoiding Persia. But the problem of securing such a supply had already been solved in a more definite way. During the reign of Justinian, in the year 552, the first silk-worm eggs had been brought to Europe, according to tradition by two monks. Thus the Chinese lost the secret they had guarded for hundreds of years, and the production of silk quickly spread through all the Mediterranean countries, making the West independent of China as regarded its supply.

This brief glance at the history of silk in Europe reveals nothing in regard to the origin of the style adopted in silk weaving. The only interesting conclusion to be drawn from it is that the Sassanid kingdom had but a small share in the great trade between the East and the West. None the less we must locate the origin of the early-mediæval style in silks in the country of these enemies of Rome.

Although only a few specimens of Sassanian textiles have been preserved, most of which are reproduced in Lessing's standard work,¹ nevertheless we can reconstruct a fairly clear picture of Sassanian textile art and prove that it was based upon ancient Oriental tradition. Many textiles are portrayed on Babylonian, Assyrian, and Old-Persian reliefs. Often they are plain stuffs with rich fringes and not infrequently with woven borders upon which are figures placed on either side of a tree in symmetrically opposed groups. Yet stuffs where the whole field is sprinkled with rows of circular medallions or disks with rosette patterns are very frequent and are particularly characteristic. And from these latter elements in especial Sassanian textile art was consistently developed.

Probably the oldest representations of Sassanian stuffs are those on the rock-reliefs of Chosroes II (591—628) at Tagh-i-Bostan.² Here we find, to begin with, the ancient Oriental textile pattern of medallion disks, also medallion patterns with fantastic Persian animals (hippocamps) (Fig. 2), and finally stuffs without medallions but with rows of animal figures. The oldest Sassanian stuffs that have been preserved show similar patterns: first, silks with representations of animals striding along in rows; secondly, medallioned stuffs with animals in the medallions; and thirdly, medallioned stuffs

¹ Lessing, *Gewebesammlung des Kunstgewerbemuseums in Berlin*. 1900—. The numbers of the plates as we shall refer to them are those fixed by Otto von Falke in his *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*.

² Published in Friedrich Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, Berlin, 1910; Lessing, Pl. 19; O. von Falke, *Seidenweberei*, Pl. 91—95.

with symmetrically opposed designs of animals, hunters, and so forth of Persian character.¹ Thus we may conclude that the medallion pattern in Sassanian art was derived from the medallion pattern in ancient Oriental art without the least interference of Western influence.

The subjects represented on Sassanian silks can also be traced in ancient Oriental art. First may be mentioned all sorts of representations of fabulous winged creatures—horses, griffins, hippocamps, hippogriffs, dragons, etc. These, familiar to ancient Oriental art, were borrowed from it by the Sassanians not only for their textiles but also for the patterns on those cups and dishes of gold and silver which have recently been found in considerable numbers in Southern Russia and have been published by Smirnow.² Another motive frequently found on Sassanian textiles is the hunting scene, which shows the Sassanid king on horseback hunting lions or other wild animals, usually with the horse in the act of springing forward and the quarry under its feet. All ancient historians mention the fondness of the Persians for hunting, and Pompeius Trogus tells us that they ate no meat excepting what they secured by means of the chase. Representations of hunting scenes occur very often in ancient Oriental art, and so commonly were they used in the art of ancient Persia that by the time of Alexander they had been taken over into the art of Greece where, however, they remained of subordinate importance. It is plain, therefore, that the subject-matter of the Sassanian artist in textiles was also derived from ancient Oriental art without interference from the art of Rome.

It is a much discussed question whether the third motive characteristic of the early-mediæval style in silks—symmetrically opposed figures of horsemen or animals with a tree in the middle—originated in Persia or in Alexandria. In his *History of Mediæval Silk Weaving* Otto von Falke assumes that these symmetrical designs were first used by the weavers of Alexandria for technical reasons, in order to lessen labor at the loom; and in developing this idea he finds the origin of the medallion style at Alexandria, in the mosaics of the late-classic period. The needs of the weaver might, indeed,

¹ We may call attention to the silks reproduced by Lessing: Pl. 20, hippocamps (South Kensington); Pl. 21, cocks, and Pl. 22, ducks (Christian Museum in Rome); Pl. 23, (Cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle); Pl. 23, birds (Library, Wolfenbüttel); Pl. 23, lions (Church of St. Servatius, Maestricht).

² Smirnow, *Argenterie Orientale, recueil d'ancienne vaisselle en argent et or*. Edition de la Commission Impériale Archéologique, St. Petersburg, 1909.

explain if necessary the symmetrically opposed parts of the design, but not the conventionalized tree in the middle. This motive, as has been stated by von Falke himself, is very ancient. The symbolical representation of figures with the Tree of Life in the centre is common to the entire art of the ancient Orient. It occurs on many stone reliefs representing sacrificial scenes¹ and on numerous seal cylinders, and is also found, as has already been said, on the borders of old Oriental textiles. And from Old-Persian art it was borrowed by the Sassanians who, not only in their art but also in their whole political organization, consciously tried to revive the Old-Persian civilization. We find symmetrical composition in some of the famous Sassanian stone reliefs published by Sarre and Herzfeld, as, for example, in the scene of the investiture of Ardeschir by Ormuzd (Sarre, Pl. V) at Naksch-i-Rustem and the investiture of Schapur I by Ormuzd (Sarre, Pl. XIII) at Naksch-i-Radjab.

By a mere chance this motive can be found only twice on the silver platters published by Smirnow,² but it is a persistent symbol on the reverse of Sassanian gold coins, a fact which is particularly important as these coins (carefully stamped and of the full weight of standard gold, in contrast to the steadily depreciating gold coinage of Rome) are a symbol of the independence of the Sassanians and of the sovereignty of the "Schahanschah," the "King of Kings," for the Romans never allowed their vassals to issue gold coins.³

Thus an ancient Oriental origin may be claimed for all three of the main motives on Sassanian silks: the medallion designs, the hunting scenes and fantastic animals, and the symmetrical groups of animals or hunters on either side of the Tree of Life. If these motives occur also in Alexandrian art, they must have been borrowed from the East, so we have now to enquire into the reasons why Occidentals should thus have borrowed these patterns.

When we speak of Occidental or Late-Roman textile art we must virtually identify it with Alexandrian or Egyptian textile art. And for two reasons. In the first place there are practically no extant specimens of Late-Roman textiles excepting the fabrics which have been found by thousands in Egyptian tombs; and in the second place

¹ We may mention some symmetrical representations from Assyrian reliefs: Photograph Collection of the Metropolitan Museum: Class 218, acc. 29460.—Class 218, acc. 29459.—Class 216, acc. 28368.—Class 216, acc. 29457.—Class 218, acc. 29530, sacrificial scenes and fighting demons.

² Smirnow, LX, No. 95; LXIV, No. 109.

³ Mommsen, *Römisches Münzwesen*, p. 778.

the representations of Roman stuffs that we find in paintings and mosaics indicate that the Alexandrian product fairly represented Roman textile art in general. This is not at all surprising if we consider what ancient authors tell us about Alexandria. It was the commercial and industrial centre of the Roman Empire. Although the city of Rome was the administrative centre of the Empire, it grew ever more and more unproductive. Italy had never been important industrially, and its agriculture had been destroyed by the extinction of the free peasant and by the competition of cereals imported from other lands. The immense wealth of Rome was the result not of trade and industry but of the millions which, in the shape of taxes and in other more or less legal ways, were extorted year by year from the provinces and from conquered countries. So, although Rome may have been a banking centre, the commercial and industrial centres of the Empire lay beyond the confines of classic Græco-Roman civilization, in Syria and especially in Alexandria which the geographer Strabo called *Maximum orbis romani emporium*—the greatest emporium of the Roman world. Owing to its advantageous geographical situation, Alexandria was the mart of exchange for the products of the Empire and the wares of Arabia, India, China, and Central and Eastern Africa. The dry enumeration of the imports and exports of all these countries to and from Alexandria which is given in the *Periplus maris Erythræi* shows that Egypto-Roman ship-owners and merchants handled year by year an enormous exchange of merchandise with the East. At the same time Egypt was producing vast quantities of wheat and, as the granary of the imperial city, was receiving a considerable annual inflow of money. Moreover, all ancient authors agree in saying that the period of the Empire witnessed a great expansion in the local industries of Egypt, particularly of Alexandria, and in the exportation at high prices of their products to the East and the West. These industries were above all the manufacture of glass and of papyrus and the weaving of linen, to which later on silk weaving was added, while among other Egyptian specialties were the exportation of marble, the distilling of perfumes, shipbuilding, and the manufacture of all sorts of articles of luxury, such as works of sculpture in stone and bronze, wrought silver and gold, ivory carvings, and books.

Thus Alexandria was the great industrial and commercial centre of the ancient world, and its commercial methods were not so very



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Fig. 6. FRAGMENT, PROBABLY PERSIAN. 8TH CENTURY.
Red, blue, chamois. No. 233. 9x19 cm.

Fig. 7. SILK, PROBABLY SICILIAN. 10TH-11TH CENTURY.
Salmon and dark green. No. 234. 56x51 cm.

Fig. 8. HISPANO-MOESQUE SILK. 12TH-13TH CENTURY.
Red, green, buff. No. 237. 30x33 cm.; diam. med. 30 cm.

Fig. 9. HISPANO-MOESQUE SILK OF THE TOMB OF S. BERNARDO CALVÓ (VICH, SPAIN).
12TH-13TH CENTURY.

Red, green, buff, gold threads. No. 247. 52x56 cm.; diam. med. 29 cm.

Cooper Union, New York.

different from those of modern trading centres. The *Periplus maris Erythræi* tells us expressly that Egyptian textiles were shipped east and west to all parts of the known world, and that the Alexandrians took pains to adapt their textile patterns to the taste and the traditions of their various customers.¹ These very important passages in the *Periplus* prove that the Alexandrian industry was by no means merely local but was a huge organization based on a complicated system of export² and able to compete with foreign industries in foreign markets—in a word, an organization which cannot have differed much from the modern trade in cotton goods of Manchester or from the industries of Lancashire, which also adapt, in the words of the *Periplus*, their textile patterns to the taste and the traditions of their different customers.

In the business methods of the Lancashire of today we find an absolute specialization. The exporter who deals in cotton goods, kept informed by his agents and travellers, knows the wishes and the tastes of dealers and purchasers in foreign countries and gives his orders to the manufacturer. It is he and not the manufacturer who is on the outlook for new patterns. The manufacturer simply executes the orders of the merchant without knowing where the market for his products may be. A similar division of labor existed in Alexandria. The *Periplus maris Erythræi* is simply a guide-book written by an Alexandrian shipping merchant for the use of those interested in the import and export trade with India. He mentions all the important harbors from Alexandria to Ceylon and Calcutta, from Zanzibar to Bombay and Bunder-Abbas, and gives an exact account of the articles that could be bought and sold in the different places. He is not a poet dreaming about the fairy-lands of the East but a business man speaking about his business, and during hundreds of years there were hundreds like him in Alexandria. As he had himself to carry his merchandise to India, and as it took him, with the help of the monsoon, at least the better half of a year to go and return, he was certainly not able to run a

¹ *Periplus*, Ch. XXIV. "The merchandise imported to Muza consists of purple cloth, both fine and coarse, clothing in the *Arabian style* with sleeves, plain, ordinary, embroidered, or interwoven with gold . . . muslins, cloaks, blankets (not many), some plain, others made in the *local fashion*."

Periplus, Ch. XXVIII. "There are imported into this place [Sabbatha] from Egypt a little wheat . . . clothing in the *Arabian style* . . ."

² See also Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, Vol. V, p. 616-19. J. T. Reinaud: *Relations politiques et commerciales de l'empire romain avec l'Asie Orientale*. Paris, 1863, p. 160-216.

factory at the same time. Therefore Alexandria must have known the same division of labor as Lancashire knows today, the only difference being that the Alexandrian trader assumed greater responsibility and risk than does the merchant of Manchester.

The *Periplus maris Erythræi* shows that the Alexandrian merchant was no more a poet than the Manchester merchant of today. As he had to compete not only with his Alexandrian rivals but also with the shipping merchants of Arabia Felix he was forced to study the taste of his Eastern customers, just as the Manchester shipper must who manufactures "dooties" for India and imitations of block-prints for Persia and Central Africa, who copies the Malayan "batiks" as well as the Dutch cotton-printer copies them, and, on the other hand, studies the American markets and those of the various European countries. The Alexandrian merchant certainly pursued the same course, and when his Western or Eastern customers wanted Oriental patterns he copied Oriental patterns wheresoever he found them.

Mimicry of this kind is a general commercial law to which every industrial centre must submit, and especially in the domain of textile art it is the main explanation of the influences exerted by one style upon another.

It is natural that the Indian customers of the Alexandrian merchant should have wanted textiles Oriental in style, but is there any reason to suppose that his Occidental customers also fancied more or less Orientalized patterns?

It is a well established fact that the whole civilization of the Roman Empire was steadily and increasingly affected by Oriental influence. After Rome had subdued the entire Mediterranean basin, it counted millions of Asiatic subjects who, superficially but not too unwillingly, had embraced Græco-Roman civilization. From this marriage between the East and the West sprang a universal civilization Græco-Roman in its outlines but strongly affected by Asiatic elements. And Oriental customs and Oriental taste spread all the more easily because Asia could offer the Occident countless articles of luxury which Rome was only too glad to receive. As early as the first century of the Empire an orientalizing of Græco-Roman civilization began, powerfully assisted by the extension in Occidental

lands of Oriental religions, including Christianity, Judaism, and the cults of Mithras and Isis.¹

The use of silk was certainly one of the most significant external signs of the spread of Oriental customs throughout the whole Roman Empire. This material, which was considered the real mark of feminine elegance, could not be adapted to the old Græco-Roman conception of plain garments corresponding to the classic plastic ideal. Silk demanded both color and complicated patterns, and therefore when textile art came under the influence of silk it was bound to come under the influence of the Orient.

In the progress of this Oriental influence there were two distinct stages which are clearly reflected in the textile art of Alexandria. The first stage is well exemplified by a square of Egyptian tapestry, now in the Cooper Union collection (Fig. 11), which served to decorate a tunic. The subject is purely classical—Bacchus with satyrs and mænads—yet it gives proof of Oriental taste and influence. In classic times all the materials of dress were plain, or merely adorned with borders, or very slightly patterned, for the most part with embroideries, thus helping to express, even in everyday life, the antique plastic ideal. Can we picture to ourselves the garment that drapes the godlike limbs of the Venus of Milo patterned with a row of ducks or with the triumphal train of the Indian Bacchus? The idea of adorning a garment with large animals or mythological scenes is distinctively Asiatic, no matter how classical the mythological scene itself may be. This Asiatic spirit was manifested during the fourth century by a change in Roman costume, a tunic with sleeves, adorned with stripes, borders, and huge medallions in bright colors, then becoming the usual garment of both men and women.

The second stage in the progress of Oriental influence consists simply in the imitation of Oriental patterns. In this movement Alexandria, with its huge textile industry supplying the whole of the Empire, was the leader. Looking for inspiration to the Orient, the Alexandrians copied Sassanian patterns. For the Romans the Sassanid realm was *par excellence* the Orient, and rightly so, for the Sassanians themselves had deliberately tried to turn back to the Old-Persian tradition and the religion of Zoroaster.

Very little is known about the state of textile art among the

¹ Even the metrical system of mediæval Latin poetry was borrowed from the Syrians. See W. Meyer aus Speyer, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. I.

Sassanians, yet it is certain that they produced admirable fabrics. The World Chronicle of Tabari,¹ telling of the conquest of the Sassanid capital by the Mohammedans, speaks over and over again of the beauty of the garments of the Sassanians, which astounded the ragged troops of Islam. The fact that Schapur (Sapor) II, raiding Syria in the year 355, brought home with him hundreds of the weavers of that country need not be taken as proof of a desire to establish or technically to improve the art of weaving in Persia. It is sufficiently explained by a desire to add without expense to the slaves who tended the imperial looms some hundreds of representatives of skilled labor. We have already said that the commercial intercourse of the Sassanians with the Romans was probably not very active. In so far as we can judge from the *Periplus* and other ancient writings, they seem to have had but a small share in the Roman traffic with India, and therefore Sassanian textile art was probably a mere local industry—by no means a huge commercial organization like that of Alexandria.

Here seems to lie the explanation of a very interesting fact noted by Otto von Falke—the fact that a great number of the so-called Sassanian textiles show Alexandrian elements. To meet the demand for Oriental patterns in the Roman Empire, the great Alexandrian industry, with its enormous possibilities of export, adopted the patterns of the Sassanian industry and sent thousands and thousands of yards of its fabrics into all parts of the Roman world. Thus Oriental taste and Oriental textile patterns were made known to the Mediterranean countries in a far less degree by the real Sassanian silks than by the imitations of them that were turned out in Alexandria. More or less unconsciously the Alexandrian wholesale dealers hellenized the Sassanian patterns, animal scenes as well as hunting scenes; and they even created patterns with Christian scenes treated in a Hellenistic way, such as those on the famous Annunciation piece in the Christian Museum at Rome (Lessing, Pl. 6).

Thus Alexandria cleverly appropriated the Sassanian style of silk weaving. Yet there is a great difference between Sassanian and Alexandrian products. Fabrics like one with cocks and one with ducks, both in the Christian Museum in Rome (Lessing, Pl. 21, 22) and one in the Kunstgewerbe Museum at Berlin with the figure of

¹ *Chronique de Tabari, traduite par Zotenberg*. Paris, 1867. Vol. III, p. 324 (IV, Ch. XVII); p. 372 (IV, Ch. XXXVII); p. 397 (IV, Ch. XLI); and especially p. 416 (IV, Ch. XLIX).



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Fig. 10. COPTIC TAPESTRY. 5TH-6TH CENTURY.
Dark mauve and white. No. 378. Diam. 41 cm.

Fig. 11. BACCHUS. HELLENISTIC TAPESTRY. EGYPT. 5TH-6TH CENTURY.
Purple, brown and white. No. 372. 17x17 cm.

Fig. 12. SACRIFICE OF ISAAC. COPTIC TAPESTRY. 6TH-7TH CENTURY.
Multicolored. No. 187. 12,5x29 cm.

Fig. 13. MEDALLION, COPIED AFTER AN ALEXANDRIAN SILK FABRIC. COPTIC TAPESTRY. 6TH-7TH CENTURY.

Multicolored on red ground. No. 206. Diam. 11 cm.

Cooper Union, New York.

a Sassanid king out hunting (Chosroes II or Jesdegerd III, Lessing, Pl. 26) are inimitably bold both in color and in design, evidently the work of a young and primitive art. On the other hand the Alexandrian specimens, having benefitted by the experience of a great commercially organized industry, are very skilful, technically perfect. Yet we can perceive, especially in the patterns that are Hellenistic in style, that these accomplished weavers did not possess the youthful originality of their Sassanian models.

* * * * *

The collections of Cooper Union include a series of very interesting fabrics which show how the mediæval style in silks spread through the whole Orient and all the countries of the Mediterranean basin. While this series contains no actual specimen of Sassanian silk weaving it does contain two very important pieces that show the continuation of the Sassanian tradition in Persia. The splendid piece (No. 231) (Fig. 1), representing an elephant in a huge medallion forty centimetres in diameter and woven in bright red and yellow silk (Lessing, Pl. 31), was found in Spain, as was also another fragment of the same fabric which is now in the Berlin Kunstgewerbe Museum (Lessing, Pl. 31), but the work is certainly Persian, and the same may be said of the interesting fragment No. 233 (Fig. 6) and of No. 235 (Fig. 4), a silk with two symmetrically opposed lions. Other fragments of this last-named fabric are at Sens (the shroud of St. Columba) and in the Berlin Museum (Lessing, Pl. 32). Again, the Cooper Union collection contains a very interesting set of Byzantine silks with medallions which also show the very direct influence of Sassanian art and Sassanian textiles. No. 232 (Fig. 3) bears identically the same pattern as one of the silks represented on the reliefs of Tagh-i-Bostan (Fig. 2) and as another Sassanian silk which is reproduced in Lessing, Pl. 20; but it has the dark purple coloring characteristic of the Byzantine work of the ninth and tenth centuries. There is another fragment of this silk in the Musée du Cinquantenaire in Brussels (Lessing, Pl. 22).

No. 245 (Fig. 5) is also of Byzantine origin but somewhat later in date. A very strong Persian influence is unmistakable in this piece, which is decorated with hippocamps, hippogriffs, and elephants in medallions. Another fragment of it is in the Berlin Museum (Lessing, Pl. 61). No. 236, a silk in blue and yellow with

lozenges and little medallions, seems to have been inspired by the silks of Græco-Roman character in Alexandria, where we meet with similar patterns. It is Byzantine of the period embraced by the eighth and tenth centuries (Lessing, Pl. 53). It is doubtful whether No. 234 (Fig. 7), a silk decorated with huge eagles, is Byzantine, Spanish, or Sicilian. Considering its similarity to No. 247 we are inclined to attribute it to Sicily or Spain and to the eleventh or twelfth century, and a Spanish origin is all the more probable as the piece was found in Spain. Another fragment of the same grandiose fabric is in the Museum of Vich in Spain (Lessing, Pl. 77). Spanish again is doubtless the fine silk with heraldic eagles (No. 257), with an inscription on the wings in the characteristic Moghrebi form of Cufic. Another piece of this silk, of the twelfth or thirteenth century, is in the Berlin Museum (Lessing, Pl. 78).

Nos. 237 (Fig. 8) and 247 (Fig. 9) show the minuteness in design and the delicate execution characteristic of Mohammedan art in Spain. No. 237, a silk with two symmetrically opposed sphinxes, is also known through another fragment in the Museum at Vich (Lessing, Pl. 43). No. 247, a splendid silk representing a man killing two lions by pressing them in his arms, is a Spanish piece of the twelfth or thirteenth century which reproduces an ancient Oriental motive, used also in Alexandrian and Byzantine silks and sometimes identified in Christian symbolism with Samson, sometimes with Daniel. This Hispano-Arabian silk, another fragment of which is in the Berlin Museum (Lessing, Pl. 42), was found in the tomb of San Fernando Calvó, who was bishop of Vich from 1233 to 1243.

All these textiles, although they were produced in different countries and at different times, show more or less the same spirit, the same kind of composition, and they form a remarkable series representing the early-mediæval style in silks as it was developed in Asia and in Europe.





REMBRANDT PEALE: PORTRAIT OF JACQUES LOUIS DAVID.
Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

PORTRAIT OF JACQUES LOUIS DAVID PAINTED BY
REMBRANDT PEALE · BY CHARLES HENRY HART

JACQUES LOUIS DAVID has been called the classicist of classicism and the epithet fits him exactly, for he certainly was the prophet of the classic movement in France that influenced not only art but politics, literature, fashion and even furniture of the period that he ruled. A nephew of François Boucher, he was born in Paris in 1748. During his six student years in Rome he devoted himself assiduously to drawing from the antique, to the exclusion of the usual copying of paintings by the old masters. He was under the pupilage of Vien and thus was dominated by the master who laid the foundation of the classic school in France; indeed Vien once said he only half unclosed the door which David threw wide open. David's ambition seems to have been to make his pictures as plastic as possible, many of his works being, figuratively, painted statues. His paintings were so severe and artificial that they became conventional, but always thoughtful, and let it be remembered that because a work is conventional it by no means follows that for that reason it is bad. David's drawing was usually correct, but it was hard and statuesque and he wielded a metallic brush dipped into frigid colors, producing cold stony figures without life or animation.

David espoused the cause of the French revolution and sided with the extremists, nearly falling a victim to the guillotine on the downfall of Robespierre. He used his power to instigate accusations against Houdon before the Committee of Public Safety, but was baffled by the quick wit of Barère, who suggested the accused sculptor should change his statue of St. Scholastica into one of Philosophy and offer it to the government. The trick worked and David failed. When Napoleon's star was in ascendancy David came under his notice and found in him a patron and a friend. This changed David into a stanch imperialist, and the painter of the Napoleonic epic. On the return of the Bourbons, David was naturally banished. He died at Brussels in 1825 and burial in France was denied to his remains. When Joseph Bonaparte escaped to this country, after Waterloo, one of the treasures that he brought with him was David's portrait of Napoleon crossing Mont Blanc, of which the painter made four canvases, and it was used by Bass Otis, C. B. Lawrence and other young American painters as a subject

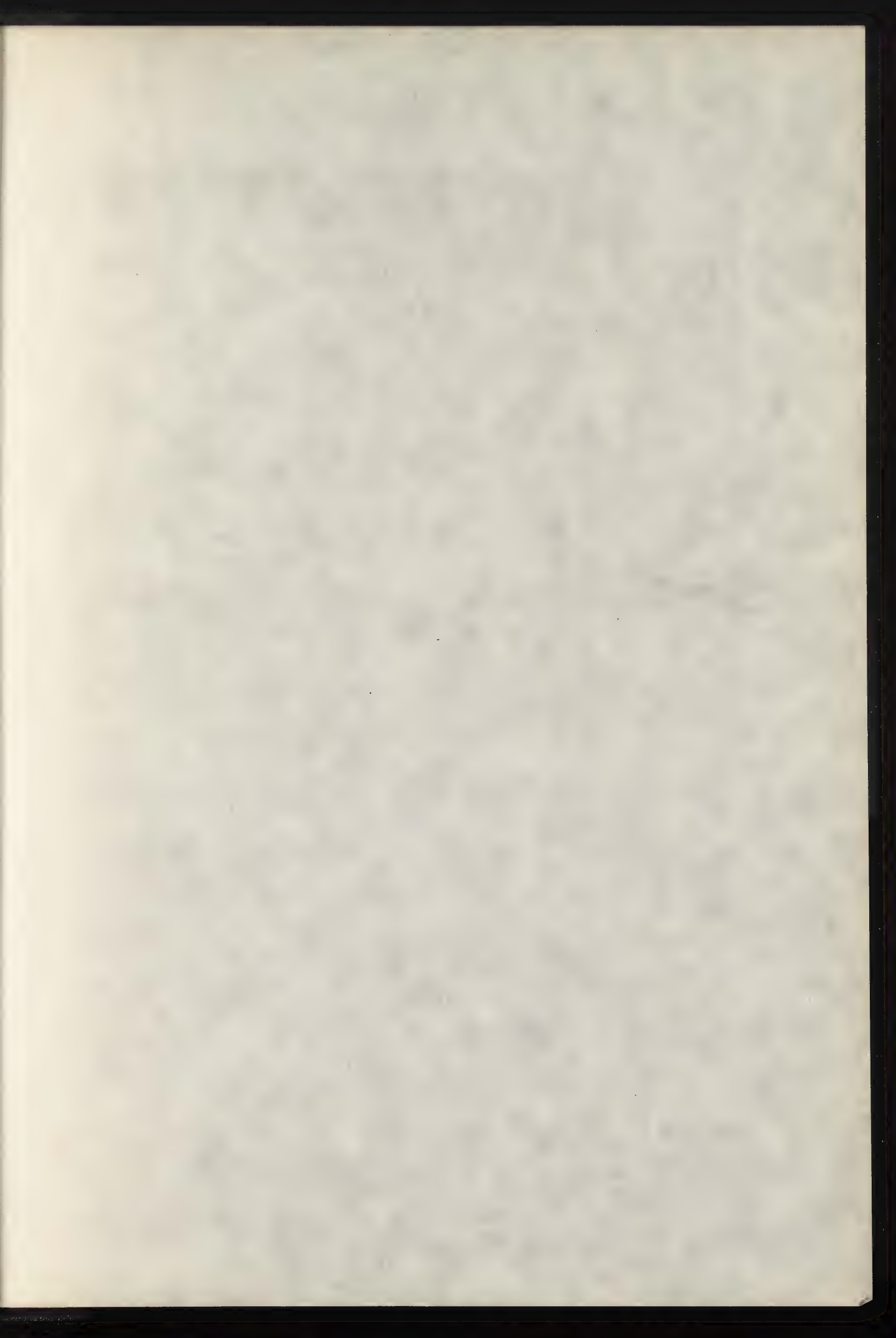
for study to copy, much as Stuart's Washington, so that the number of "originals by David" from the brush of one or the other of these tyros, is astounding.

While Rembrandt Peale was in Paris, in 1808, when he painted his portrait of Houdon that was published in a recent number, he painted also a portrait of David. It is in the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, by whose permission our illustration is made. Peale always claimed that he was the first to paint a portrait of David, that David had "refused to sit to any other painter." This may be literally true but the exclusion did not include David himself for he painted his own portrait in 1790 and again in 1794. These canvases are respectively at Versailles and in the Uffizi Gallery of painters' auto-portraits. But the best known portrait of David, from its having been engraved by Pradier, was painted, in 1814, by his favorite pupil and assistant, Georges Rouget, who made also a copy of David's Coronation picture, which David actually signed and sent to America for exhibition, as his own work. Peale was an admirer of David and his school, and in his "Notes on Italy" disapproves the triumph of Girodet's *Deluge* over David's *Sabines* for "the great decennial prize of ten thousand crowns" in 1810; consequently he had no sympathy with the evolution of Romanticism through Prudhon to the revolt of the romantic school under Gericault and Delacroix, always esteeming the works of David for their "classic beauty." Peale's portrait of David, however, does not exemplify the neo-classic theory of painting, for it is rich in color and full of life and character, entirely in the English tradition. But Rembrandt Peale's artistic collapse, in his later work, may have been due in part to his admiration for the cold and sleek manner of his former friend David.





PORTRAIT OF A PRELATE WITH ST. JEROME, ATTRIBUTED TO JACQUES DARET
COLLECTION OF MR. JOHN G. JOHNSON, PHILADELPHIA



ART IN AMERICA · AN ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE · VOLUME III NUMBER VI · OCTOBER MCMXV

THREE EARLY FLEMISH TOMB PICTURES · BY
FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.

SPECIALISTS in the art of the Low Countries must be familiar with the use of commemorative portraits to adorn a funerary monument. Every one will recall the consummate example of the *genre*, the Madonna with the Family of Rubens, over his vault in the Church of St. Jacques, Antwerp. But perhaps few lovers of Early Flemish painting realize how many of the extant panels had a mortuary destination. From the inscription this seems true of the splendid triptych by Rogier de la Pasture which has recently been acquired by the Louvre. I believe that nearly all the familiar class of paintings which represent a donor, in bust or half length, with a patron saint, both invariably of portrait type, were originally tomb pictures. Generally these were diptychs, the panel with the donor folding over a half-length Madonna and Child. The most famous example is the portrait of Etienne Chevalier with St. Stephen, at Berlin, the Madonna being at Brussels. Probably the much discussed portrait panel of an Angevin noble with patron, at Glasgow, belongs to the same class. Since such panels have almost invariably been separated from their companion pieces, these double portraits are often erroneously described as wings of triptychs. A number of French panels, mostly by or in the style of the Maître des Moulins, were thus qualified by Bouchot in his great illustrated catalogue of "Primitifs Français." In that standard work the reader will find some dozen panels of the type under discussion. I may add in passing that in all the primitive period, a portrait and patron at half length would be quite exceptional in the wing of a triptych, whether in France or Flanders. The donor and patron would usually be shown at full length. In a diptych, the presentment at half length was customary. Witness the famous diptych with the portrait of Martin Nieuwenhove, by Memling, in St. John's Hospital, Bruges, or any one of a dozen other instances.

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I.

I wish to bring to notice three very characteristic tomb portraits in American collections. I will begin with the most complete and instructive, the diptych of Joos van der Burg with his patron St. Jodoc, and the Virgin, in the Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass. (Fig. 1). Before discussing the very interesting question of the style of the two parts of the diptych let us turn the dexter wing and read on the back of the panel (Fig. 2) with the donor and patron the following inscription, in translating and deciphering which I have freely drawn on the courtesy of my friends Mr. and Mrs. A. E. Bye:

Hier voren ligghê begrave joos vâder
burch wilê raed houyer vâdê romsch
rycke en zyns zoons phs erdshertoge
vâ oosttrycke hertoge vâ bourgne grave
vâ vlandere etc en ghe (com) miteerd ont
fanghere vâ vuernâbocht xxix iare
die starf dê vierde dach vâ sporkele
int iarr m cccc zesenentneghentic[h]

J. K. Impaled arms
Van der Burg
Van der Mersch J. K.

en ioncvrouwe katheline vâ der
mersch zyn eerste wyf die starf dê
xx dach vâ maye int iarr M cccc.
[zesenent?]neghentic bedt ver de zielen

The inscription is partly effaced and the readings at times uncertain, but the general meaning is plainly enough:

Before this lie buried Joos Van der Burch, formerly counsellor of the Roman Empire [used for Emperor] and of his son Princely Highness (?) Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Count of Flanders, Etc., commissioned as Receiver of Furnes for twenty-nine years, who died the fourth day of February, 1496.

And Miss Kathleen Van der Mersch, his first wife, who died the twentieth day of May in the year 149—.

It remains only to note that the initials J K intertwined on both sides of the impaled arms of husband and wife are those of Joos and Kathleen.

Dr. Victor van der Haegen, Archivist of the City of Ghent, has communicated to Mr. Edward Forbes, Director of the Fogg



Fig. 1. MADONNA: ATTRIBUTED TO ROGIER DE LA PASTURE; JOOS VAN DER BURG WITH ST. JOSEPH: ATTRIBUTED TO GERARD DAVID.
The Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass.

Museum, the fact that the picture comes from a Parish Church of Furnes. It was bought before 1881, by Mr. George Harris of Boston and by him bequeathed in 1886 to Harvard University. I have no data as to the life of Joos van der Burg, and present the picture chiefly as a complete and convincing example of early mortuary painting in Flanders.

Yet the diptych with its delightful Virgin and characterful portraits is worth consideration on its own account. The Madonna is entirely in the style of Rogier de la Pasture. A poorer version of the same composition is in the Brussels Gallery (reproduced in Fierens-Gevaert, "Les Primitifs Flamands," I, plate XXXIX). This has led the authorities of the Fogg Museum to the conservative conclusion that their picture is an old copy after Rogier, made about the time of the burial of Joos van der Burg, in 1496. I think, however, there are strong reasons for assuming that this Madonna came directly from Rogier's studio, and is quite as authentically his as any of the later works. Like the very similar Adoration of the Magi at Munich, our Madonna may have been in part executed by assistants. One would be tempted to suspect the fine hand of that "Hans Joyne," whom we take to be Memling. Let us consider the very curious relations of these companion panels.

Both were made for the van der Burg family, as the arms in the windows attest, but there is much reason for supposing that the two pictures were painted independently, perhaps at widely differing times, by different artists, and later arbitrarily assembled as a diptych. The panel containing the portraits was originally at least two inches larger in every dimension, and later cut down. This is shown by the awkward way in which the frame cuts the donor's fingers, as well as St. Jodoc's mitre and crook. Then the window shows only two rows of bullseyes on the sinister side of the central panel, as against three rows at the dexter side. Aside from this, the window by no means fits its pendant in the panel of the Madonna. It is larger in every dimension, the sill and crossbar do not fit, the perspective is slightly different, revealing more of the sill in the panel with the donor. Examining the reverse of this panel, the story is equally plain. At all points the flourishes have been cut off, at the right hand side one or two lines of text have lost a letter in part.

On any theory that the two panels were executed in one studio, as a diptych, we must imagine a double error of four inches. This is

quite incredible. A supposition that the panels were done contemporaneously at different places, the portraits by one artist, the Madonna by another, but both as parts of a diptych, still leaves the gross error of measurement unaccounted for. Again, on the supposition that the Madonna is only a copy, the least valuable of the two panels, why should the juncture have been made by mutilating the more valuable part? Clearly the proper way of mending matters would have been to enlarge the Madonna panel. The easiest way of accounting for the case is to suppose that the panel with the portraits was made irrespective of the Madonna. As the work on the portraits was progressing, it seems to have occurred to some one to associate them with a Madonna already in the possession of the van der Burghs. If this Madonna were too treasured an heirloom to be tampered with, the only way of associating the two panels in a diptych would have been to cut down the newer and less precious one. In some such way I think we must imagine the collocation of the two originally unrelated panels to have been effected.

The supposition of two hands is amply borne out by the style. The Madonna is more nervous and elegant in touch, more primitive. The portraits, energetic as they are, are heavy handed. The landscape with the crucifixion is more detailed, more heavily shaded, with an arrowy mannerism in the foliage entirely like Gerard David. Mr. Forbes has informally suggested that David was the maker of the diptych. For the portrait panel I think this possible and even likely. The accent of the donor is very like that of the unjust Sisamnes at Bruges, the landscape, to repeat, is very near David's. My familiarity with the school is not such as to permit me to dogmatize. I merely feel that the portraits are excellent work of the type associated with David, Mostaert, or the earliest phase of Mabuse.

As to the Madonna, I think the circumstantial evidence for regarding it as a good late Rogier is strong. I had the good fortune to see it on the same wall with the Christ taking leave of his Mother, from the famous Miraflores triptych,—one of the earliest Rogiers—and the Fogg Madonna very well held its own. In all the late Rogiers there is a certain relaxation of the style, but this picture seems to me quite as delicate as the Munich Adoration, which should be our standard for Rogier's ultimate phase. The qualitative gulf between the Fogg picture and a veritable old copy may be appreciated simply by comparing our reproduction with

the cut of the Brussels version in Fierens-Gevaert. How far the late Rogiers are his own handiwork is a question that must remain open. It is enough that they are impregnated with his spirit of austere finesse. In any case, the Fogg Madonna is one of the lovelier creations of the Early Flemish School, and very interesting as marking the exact point at which the softening art of old Rogier forecasts the gentler mode of Hans Memling.

II.

Since the publication of his catalogue Mr. John G. Johnson has acquired a magnificent panel representing a canon with his patron, St. Jerome (Frontispiece). I cannot prove that it is a tomb panel, but it has every appearance of belonging to that class. Its flintlike energy of delineation is in every way notable. The depth of color is as remarkable. Nothing could seem more impossible than the combination of the scarlet robe and cord of the saint, and the rich purple cassock of the donor veiled by the transparent lawn surplice. St. Jerome has such drastic, individual quality that were it not for his emblematic lion in the middle distance one would suspect that we had to do merely with two portraits of ecclesiastics. Such indeed is probably the case, only one impersonates a saint.

The picture will be familiar to many readers. It was shown at the Bruges Exposition of 1902 as a Rogier de la Pasture. At that time M. Pol de Mont justly remarked that the accent was too harsh and the color too vivid for the great master of Tournai. Mr. W. H. J. Weale published it in his notes on the Bruges Exposition, in the *Burlington Magazine*, reserved opinion as to the attribution and made rather casually the suggestion that the donor might be Canon Jerome Bursleiden, famous as founder of the Collegium Bursleidanum, at the University of Louvain. Presumably the arms in the window suggest the theory. The window contains as well the motto *Placet*, repeated above and below the shield, and in a rondel the initials J B. All this constitutes a certain amount of circumstantial evidence for the identification. One would be glad to think it a speaking portrait of this famous patron of arts and letters, whose taste and virtues are commemorated by no less a guest than Sir Thomas More. But it is hard to reconcile the severe and very primitive style of the portraits with the dates of Canon Bursleiden.

He was born about 1470 and died in 1517. Certainly the Canon here depicted cannot be much less than forty years old. So, on the supposition that he is Jerome Bursleiden, the picture cannot have been painted much before 1510. It is difficult indeed to think of this severely magisterial portrait as later than Memling and contemporary with the portraiture of Metsys, Mabuse, Joos van Cleef, and Gerard David. It has every look of having been painted before Bursleiden was born. On general principles one would date it near the middle of the 15th century.

Clearly this has been Dr. Friedländer's feeling when, in a private communication to Mr. Johnson, he suggests the name of Simon Marmion of Valenciennes. Marmion is so rare a master that the attribution could hardly be demonstrated. Yet it is easy to see the reasons for the suggestion. Marmion was chiefly a miniaturist. The short brittle stroke in the Johnson picture is like that of a man who habitually works on smaller scale. The odd twisted peak which so exceptionally fills the background is in direct descent from the calligraphic spirals in the *ouvrage de Lombardie*. I may add that the choice of the dexter panel for the portraits—we must suppose there was originally a Madonna, to complete a diptych—speaks rather for France than for Flanders. In Flanders the donor was usually sinister, as in the Martin Nieuwenhove diptych, the Fogg diptych, and Mr. Philip Lehman's panel (Fig. 3) of a Donatress with St. Anne and the Virgin. In France the donor was generally dexter, as in Fouquet's Etienne Chevalier, the Glasgow Angevin portrait, and any one of a dozen examples represented in Bouchot's "Les Primitifs Français."

Without contesting Dr. Friedländer's interesting hypothesis, which I presume is supported also by the unusual color of this masterpiece, I may recall that all these reminiscences of miniature painting are also found in the work of the Maître de Flémalle, whom we may pretty certainly identify with Robert Campin, and in that of his follower Jacques Daret. One may best consult the old copy, at Liverpool, of Campin's Calvary, and Daret's Nativities, at Dijon and in the Metropolitan Museum (loaned by the estate of J. P. Morgan). In the Daret's one will find landscape forms in a very similar tradition, a comparable depth of color, and even a similar accent in the incidental portraiture. The general quality of portraiture, moreover, is much like that of the famous head by

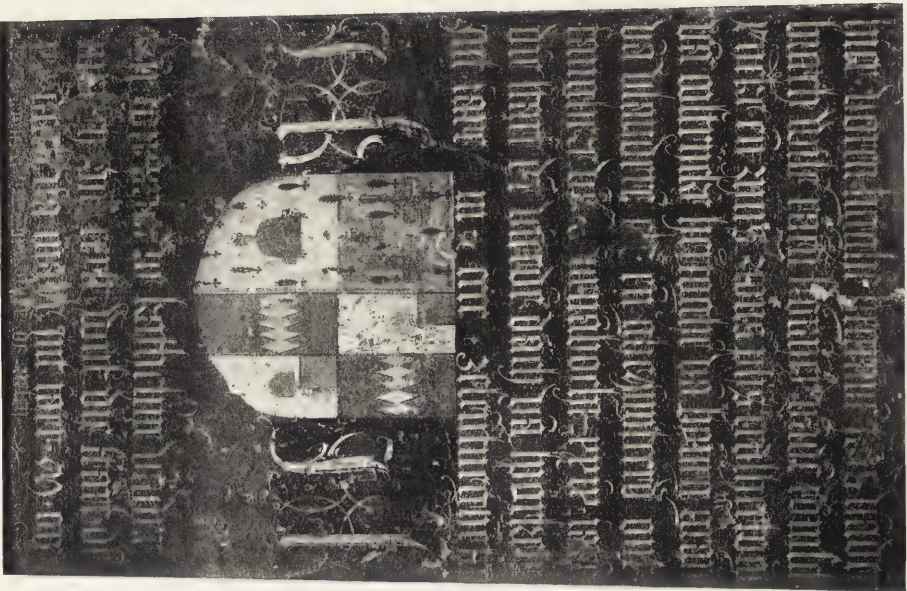


Fig. 2. THE BACK OF THE PANEL, WITH THE PORTRAITS.
Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass.



Fig. 3. ANNA DE BLASERE WITH THE VIRGIN AND ST. ANN;
BY THE MASTER OF THE ST. URSULA LEGEND.
Collection of Mr. Philip Lehman, New York.



the Master of Flémalle, at Berlin. In short, I feel a Tournai school quality in the picture. The traditional ascription to Rogier was not so absurd. Since the portraits in pictures by Campin have a blander accent, it seems to me not unlikely that we have to do with a magnificent early effort of Jacques Daret. The landscape is strikingly like his. That a generally feeble painter should rise to an exceptional height in portraiture is common enough at all times. This seems to me clearly the finest example of early Flemish portraiture that has crossed the Atlantic. In sheer intensity of character these effigies have nothing to fear from comparison with the best heads of the Van Eycks. The best portraits by Rogier have a more suave and distinguished accent, but precisely the plebeian honesty of the presentment constitutes the appeal and the distinction of these most remarkable of tomb portraits.

III.

Of far humbler accent, but very interesting for our purpose, is the little panel of Anna de Blasere with St. Ann and the Virgin. It forms part of the small but very choice collection of old masters owned by Mr. Philip Lehman, New York. The hand of the minor follower of Memling, the Master of the St. Ursula Legend, is unmistakable. His are the demure, pinched forms, his even more, a rather keen contrast between a cherry red and a coppery green. We may note this very characteristic combination in the Madonna attributed to Memling in the Altman collection, which should be merely an uncommonly fine studio piece with this same Master of the St. Ursula Legend as executant. In the Lehman piece he appears in his own guise. The commemorative and mortuary character of the picture is assured by the inscription. The dates, hardly legible in our reproduction, are in red.

De nieuwenhove coiunx Domicilla Johannis et michaelis
Obit de blasere nata Johanne Anna Sub M C quater
X octo sed excipe Totam octobris quita Pace quiescat Amen
The lady wife of John Nieuwenhove, and died wife of Michel de Blasere, born Anna daughter of Johanna in M C four times, x eight times, but take the total, on the fifth of October. May she rest in peace. Amen.

From this inscription, which is almost as odd in attempted translation as in the original Latin, it appears that Anna had been

first married to John Nieuwenhove, then to Martin de Blasere, and died in 1480.¹

Was the panel part of a diptych? This seems to me unlikely. Since the Christ-child and his Divine Mother act as patrons, it is difficult to imagine what greater figure the imaginary companion panel could have contained. A God Father, or a Trinity is conceivable. But it does not seem probable to me that there could have been any arrangement by which the commemorative inscription would commonly have been covered. It may well have been set on the left hand side of a sculptured crucifix, with a companion picture of one of the husbands, with his patrons—the two Sts. John? or the Archangel Michael? on the other, the whole forming the adornment of a tomb.

The name Nieuwenhove is of course familiar to the history of art from the splendid diptych of Martin Nieuwenhove, in St. John's Hospital, Bruges, of which the portrait is by Memling and the Madonna probably after his design by this same Master of St. Ursula. He seems indifferently to have executed his great master's commissions and to have painted on his own account. Mr. Lehman's picture must be among his earliest works.

There is in the Worcester Art Museum a portrait panel of a donor with patron saint by some French master of the early 16th century. It may possibly be a tomb panel, but from its large size and originally arched form it seems to me more probably the side piece of a triptych of the fixed form, without shutters, customary at that later time.

Doubtless further study, especially inspection of the backs of half-length portrait panels with patrons, would reveal many more of this mortuary class. With knowledge of their purpose, these effigies of pious souls confidently kneeling Godwards under the protection of their name-saints gain a more human pathos. We need not suppose that such tomb portraits were usually posthumous. They are no more than are the best painted heads from the Fayum mummy cases. In both instances devotion and pride dictated the preparation of a suitable memorial against the inevitable hour.

¹ M. Salomon Reinach, who published the outline engraving after this picture from the catalogue of the Tuédeville sale, is misled as to the date by the defective copy in the catalogue. *Rev. Archaeol.* 1910, p. 17.

THE EARLIEST PICTURES IN THE JARVES COLLECTION AT YALE UNIVERSITY · BY OSVALD SIRÉN

ONE of the best signs of the importance of the Jarves Collection to students of Italian art is that it contains some pictures by masters so early and so rare that we scarcely meet them in any European museum outside of Italy. The collection illustrates, indeed, the whole evolution of Tuscan art from its beginning in the early thirteenth century until its decadence in the late sixteenth century, though the earliest periods of this evolution are much better represented than the later. Thus we find very few Cinquecento paintings of importance in this collection, but a great number of Tre- and Quattrocento pictures by well-known masters of Florence and Siena. And besides these there are some Duecento pictures which, in some respects, are of still greater interest than the later works by more famous artists. They charm us if we look at them, not only from a historical viewpoint but on account of their pure decorative qualities and sincere expression of religious feelings: they reveal the dawn of the golden day of art.

The following notes have to be made as short as possible because of the very limited space of this magazine; our remarks may be completed on another occasion.

The first picture in the collection, No. 1, is in the old catalogue given to an unknown painter, and the statement is made that "the architecture and costumes afford a means of deciding approximately upon the date of the picture, which, from this and other internal evidence, may be fixed as the eleventh century." The conclusion upon the internal evidence is, however, rather misleading, the date being put two centuries too early. We have no Italian pictures on wood of the eleventh century, but some from the first half of the thirteenth, which show close affinity of style with the present one. They are all of Tuscan origin and are mostly to be found in Tuscan museums and churches.

The Jarves picture is composed of three small panels (Fig. 2) representing Christ on the Cross, the Deposition from the Cross, and the Pietà or the mourning over the body of Christ. They are now put together, the one on the top of the other, in a rectangular frame, but originally they formed part of some larger composition. It was common fashion in the Duecento to make the altar-panels consist

of one large central figure, a saint or a madonna, and several small scenes on both sides of this, relating the passion of Christ, the life of the Virgin or the legend of the central saint. Good examples of such compositions are found in the museums in Pisa and Siena, and there is also a picture in the Jarves Collection of a similar form (Nr. 12, "Margaritone d'Arezzo"). Even on crucifixes of the same epoch we find scenes from the life of Christ arranged on both sides of the Crucified, but as one of the present panels represents Christ on the Cross, it is most likely that they did not form parts of a crucifix but of some altar-piece with a large central figure, possibly a madonna.

In all three panels the central axis is marked by a Y-shaped cross; in the crucifixion Mary and St. John stand on either side of the cross; in the deposition the three holy women are placed on the one side, St. John and Joseph of Arimathea (who is taking out the nails in Christ's feet) on the other side, while Nicodemus has climbed a ladder to lift down the body. In the third scene the cross rises high and bare like a signpost, the dead body of Christ lying on a sarcophagus at its foot. Mary is embracing the Dead, St. John is caressing His hands, but Mary Magdalene and Nicodemus on either side of the cross burst out in pathetic gestures. The woman is lifting her arms in wild despair as if she would like to tear down the cross on which her Master has died. The same wonderfully expressive movement of her arms has been used by several later artists, always with striking effect. We find it in Cimabue's fresco in the upper church in Assisi, and still in Donatello's representation of the Deposition on one of the bronze pulpits in San Lorenzo, Florence. It suits apparently the great dramatic masters; its origin is probably to be sought in Byzantine art.

It would not be fair to compare the painter of the Jarves picture with later artists, like Cimabue and Donatello, they have all the advantage of more developed means of expression, but he may be ranked with them as one of the great imaginative masters. There is a deep, agitating feeling in his conception of the Passion; Christ is an intensely suffering human being; his superiority over the other figures is marked just by his greater emotional expressiveness.

Though the figures show very little individualization their emotional state is clearly marked: St. John is a dreaming youth, Mary is a queenly mother, Mary Magdalene the passionate devotee,



Fig. 1. GUIDO DA SIENA: CRUCIFIXION.
Jarves Collection, Yale School of Fine Arts, New Haven.

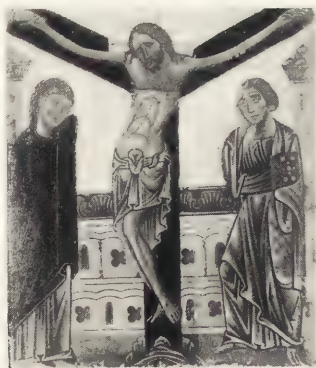


Fig. 2. BONAVENTURA BERLINGHIERI: CRUCIFIXION, DEPOSITION AND PIETÀ.
Jarves Collection, Yale School of Fine Arts, New Haven.



every one reveals a separate shade of human character. And this has been attained by the very simplest means. The drawing is summary, the figures being outlined with black contours, the draping very stiff, so that some of the figures get a likeness to standing rectangles, but the simplification does not result in flaccidness; it is a synthesis accomplished with remarkable feeling for decorative beauty.

There are not many pictures of this early epoch which stand on a level with this one in regard to decorative and emotional qualities. The nearest counterpart is perhaps a small diptych in the Academy in Florence, representing on the one wing the Madonna and Saints and on the other wing Christ on the Cross and two scenes from his passion. The picture is ascribed to *Bonaventura Berlinghieri*, the Lucchese painter who is considered one of the earliest artistic individualities of Italy. He was a son of Berlinghiero who migrated to Lucca from Milan, and he had two brothers who also were painters. Bonaventura's individual style is known to us principally through an altar-panel in S. Francesco in Pescia, representing Francis and six scenes from his life, which bears the following signature: "A. D. 1235 Bonaventura Berlinghieri de Luc—". It is on the basis of analogies of style with this panel that the Florentine diptych is attributed to Berlinghieri, and though it seems to be a little weaker in drawing it may be admitted as a work of his.

The Jarves pictures correspond very closely to the panel in Pescia. If we compare them in detail with the six small scenes from the life of St. Francis on either side of the standing figure we get the most convincing proofs for their attribution to Bonaventura Berlinghieri. The rectangular figures, the types, the hands, the way in which the actors move and gesticulate are the same in both pictures. Other interesting correspondences are to be found in the compositional scheme with dominating vertical lines and "Byzantine" architectural motives in the background which are used to enframe and set off the figures. There is almost a geometrical structure in these small scenes; their balance is perfect, they have the decorative quality of large monumental frescoes. Their master is one of the great precursors of Giotto.

Another very remarkable early picture in the Jarves Collection is No. 11, the Crucifixion (Fig. 1), ascribed to Giunta Pisano. Christ is hanging, or rather standing, on the footstool of a low cross, the feet

fastened with one nail, the legs crossed and the body protruding in a large curve. His large head is drooping between the shoulders. Mary Magdalene is kneeling at the foot of the cross, leaning her head against Christ's feet; his mother and two other women are standing to his right, wiping their tears with their hands. On the other side stands St. John weeping mildly, and behind him is Longinus affirming his conversion to the belief in Christ. Three more Roman soldiers are escaping, frightened by the darkness which fell when Christ died on the cross. The figures toward both ends become gradually smaller, because the panel is of triangular shape and the figures are all placed practically in the same front plane. According to the old catalogue, "the picture formerly filled the head of a doorway in a church near Siena, for which place it was painted."

This information is very interesting and apparently correct: the picture was certainly executed with some definite architectonic purpose; if it was not placed over a door, it was the crowning piece of a large altar-panel. Anyhow, the provenance given in the catalogue must be correct; the style of the painting proves that it originated in Siena, not in Pisa. It is a work by Siena's great Duecento master, *Guido*, the famous painter of the Madonna in the Palazzo Pubblico which has been the object of much controversy because of its incomplete date. Local patriotism, sustained by some foreign authorities, has tried to make the date of Guido's greatest achievement 1221, while more critical judges find that the date has been altered and that it originally was 1271. The later date is doubtless the one which is better sustained by the style of Guido's paintings.

There is quite a number of these on exhibition in the Academy in Siena, though only one under Guido's name. The paintings which most evidently show the master's style are the following: No. 5, Scenes from the Life of Beato Andrea Gallerani and Other Saints; No. 7, Madonna and Four Saints in half figure; No. 15, St. Peter Enthroned and scenes from his life; No. 16, Madonna in half figure; No. 587, Madonna, full length. Moreover, there is a full-length Madonna in the Uffizi (ascribed to Coppo di Marcovaldo) and another in the Gallery of Arezzo which must be given to Guido. In Siena are to be found other works in his manner and of his school which, however, are of less importance for an apprehension of Guido's individual style.

Like that of most of the famous Sienese artists of the following century Guido's is a sensitive lyrical temperament. His art is a melodious hymn in praise of the Virgin. He lacks the dramatic power of Berlinghieri or a Giunta Pisano, he strives more for decorative refinement, rhythmic effects and ornamental beauty. His colors are deep and rich. He heightens the effect of the Virgin's azure mantle with golden lights, and he places large glass pearls in the haloes.

If we compare the Jarves Crucifixion with Guido's paintings in the Siena Academy we are struck by the likeness of the types: a rather full, flat oval, low and broad forehead, an extremely long straight nose which broadens out at the root, and hands with thread-like fingers, the thumb being almost cut off. The draping of the mantles is angular and the mantle-edges fall into zigzag lines. The figures have a marked tendency to a sentimental inclination of the head and they avoid stronger emotional expressions. A characteristic detail is the treatment of the hair of the male figures: they have a wiglike cap of thick hair on their head, as is seen for instance in the figure of St. John.

The Jarves picture is as a whole one of Guido's best paintings; it has a deeper emotional quality, more life and variety than his usual madonnas.

Giunta Pisano, the great Pisan master who often is mentioned at the side of Guido da Siena as his rival, though he in reality was at least twenty years older, is not represented in the Jarves Collection by any authentic work. But there is a characteristic picture of his school (Fig. 3). It represents the Madonna, St. John the Baptist, St. Peter, St. James and St. Francis, all in half figures, the panel being of broad rectangular shape with triangular pediment over the Virgin. The picture, No 13, is ascribed to Cimabue and is said to be "partly by his own hand and partly by his pupils under his direction," a distinction which is scarcely justified by the homogeneous tameness of the five figures. They are, indeed, far from Cimabue's powerful, pathetic prophets, as we know them from his frescoes in Assisi and from the panels in Florence and in Paris. The picture is not at all Florentine; it is the work of the Lucchese painter *Deodato Orlandi*, a follower of Berlinghieri and Giunta Pisano.

We know Deodato's artistic style principally from three pictures of which two Madonnas are in the museum at Pisa, the one

signed and dated 1301; and the third, a signed Crucifix, dated 1288, is in the Gallery at Lucca. The attribution of the frescoes in St. Piero a Grado, outside of Pisa, to Deodato is not convincing.

Deodato appears in all these works as a rather inferior propagator of the old Duecento tradition. His forms remind us somewhat of Berlinghieri's, but they are not so expressive as the older master's. There is no imaginative quality in Deodato's conceptions. The figures are extremely thin, almost like silhouettes, their long and narrow faces with a slightly aquiline nose are stereotyped, and they move their hands as if they were not their own but artificial limbs. The color-scheme is pale and the ornamental work poor.

The composition of the Jarves picture is the same as in Deodato's signed picture in Pisa, only with the difference that the single figures in the Pisan picture are enclosed in arches and no separate pediment rises above the Madonna. The figures are, however, placed entirely in the same manner and the types are identical. Comparison with the other Madonna in Pisa and with the Crucifix in Lucca confirms the attribution of the Jarves picture to Deodato. It dates probably from the last decade of the thirteenth century.

The fourth pre-Cimabuesque painter who often is named at the side of Berlinghieri, Giunta and Guido is Margaritone d'Arezzo. His name is used for a large painting in the Jarves Collection, No. 12, representing the Madonna enthroned between St. Peter and St. Leonard and six small scenes from the life of St. Peter arranged in vertical rows on either side of the saints (Fig. 4). There are descriptive titles in Gothic letters above each scene and the names of the saints are also given in large letters over their shoulders. The color-scheme of the picture is remarkably bright with cinnabar red, blue, pink and green as the principal tones. The figures are rather short and clumsy, with big heads and draped in heavy mantles which form concentric folds on the protruding knees. This is especially characteristic of the seated Madonna. The standing Apostles have almost likeness with wooden statues, broadly hewn out of a trunk rather than carved. The whole composition has a stamp of rustic clumsiness which does not, however, prevent it from being of powerful, decorative effect.

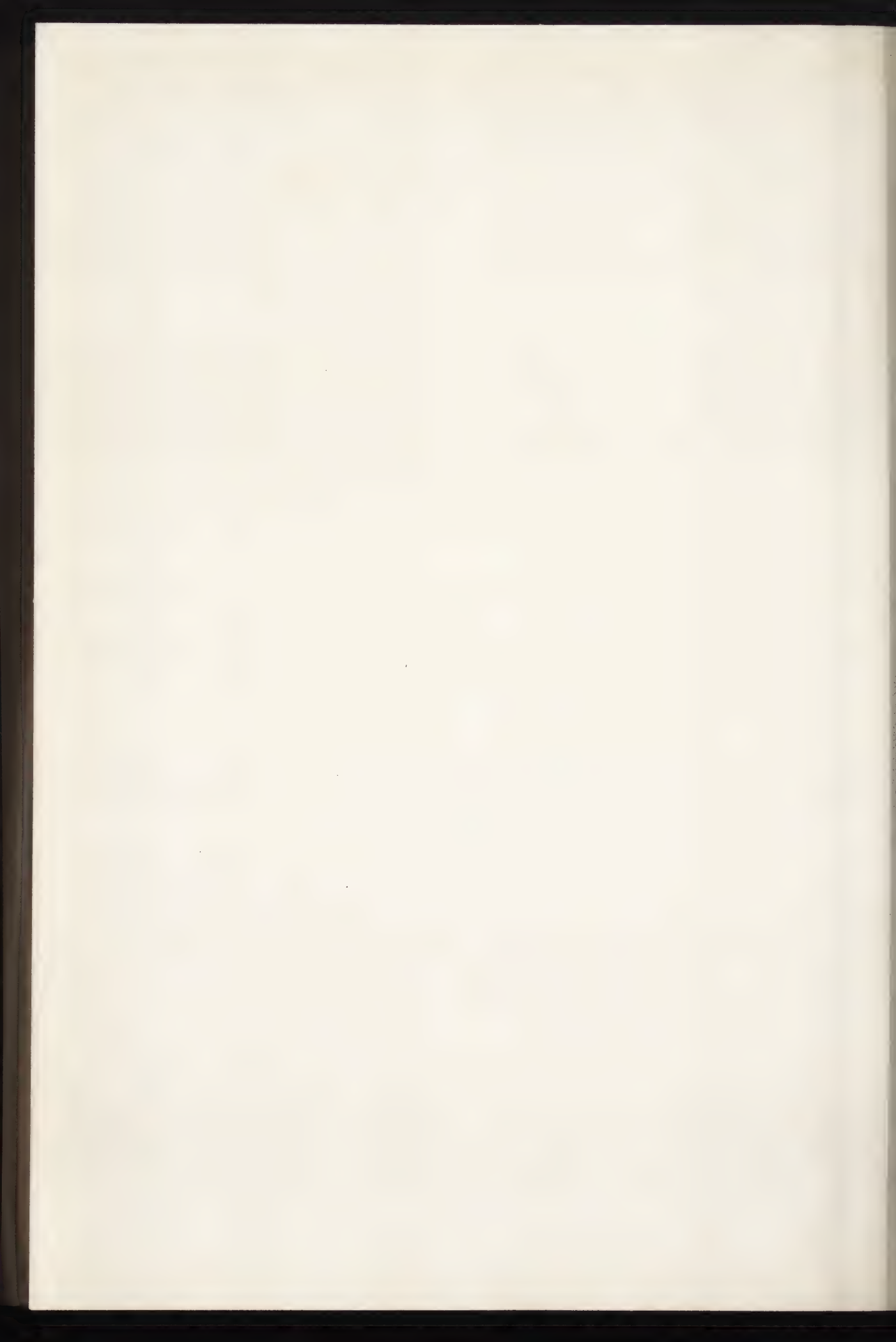
If we compare the picture with some of Margaritone's signed works, for instance, the St. Francis pictures in Arezzo, Siena, Castel Fiorentino, Ganghereto and the Vatican, we cannot avoid observing



Fig. 3. DEODATO ORLANDI: MADONNA AND FOUR SAINTS.
Jarves Collection, Yale School of Fine Arts, New Haven.



Fig. 4. SCHOOL OF MARGARITONE: MADONNA ENTHRONED AND SIX SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF
S. PETER.
Jarves Collection, Yale School of Fine Arts, New Haven.



a great likeness in types and hands and in the arrangement of the mantle-folds. The general similarities are so evident that they hardly need to be pointed out in detail. But at the same time the Jarves picture is somewhat coarser in technique and shows a harder mannerism for instance in the arrangement of the folds. Still, were the St. Francis pictures the only works known by Margaritone, as is generally assumed, we might be justified in believing that he was responsible even for somewhat cruder creations, such as the Jarves picture; but such a theory is disproved by the fact that there are some other pictures of a considerably finer quality which on internal evidences may be admitted as Margaritone's works.

Thus we are constrained to see in the Jarves picture a work of Margaritone's school, evidently done by a master who worked in Margaritone's *bottega* and who continued his style and mannerism with a heavier hand. We have seen another large Madonna by the same hand some years ago in Vienna at the antiquarian Miethke's, a picture which also exhibited the same very light colors as this one and had the same marked mannerism in the treatment of the mantle-folds. A third picture which evidently also is to be reckoned among the same artist's work is No. 99 in the Academy in Florence ("Scuola Byzantina"), representing St. Mary Magdalene, standing in full front clad in her long hair only. She could be called a sister of St. Leonard in the Jarves picture; their types, their hands and their feet are practically the same, but the isolated statuesque figure is of a finer decorative effect than the saints in the somewhat crowded altarpiece. To the same group of Margaritone's school works belongs also a large picture in the Perugia Gallery, No. 36, representing the Virgin with the Child and eighteen scenes from her life. It is, however, still coarser in execution and harder in drawing than the Jarves picture, which, indeed, might well have been executed in Margaritone's *bottega*, under his own supervision.

PERSIAN AND INDIAN PAINTINGS IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON : PART TWO · BY HERVEY E. WETZEL

EXAMPLES OF BIHZAD, AGHA MIRAK, SULTAN MUHAMMAD AND THEIR SCHOOL; TOGETHER WITH THREE INDIAN PAINTINGS
A.D. 1480-1700.

IN the preceding article, we have seen in the work of the Timurid painters the beginning of pure Persian art and its close connection with the art of China. The characteristics of the Timurid school were so strong that they made an indelible impression on the artists who were growing up under the Timurid Dynasty during the last half of the fifteenth century.

The permanence of traditions in the East is well known. Artists had the sincerest respect for the past, its technique, conventions, and standards. By a system of apprenticeship—involving willingness and ability to copy faithfully the works of former masters—painters were taught in such a way that it is particularly difficult for us to distinguish the works of the different men, and originals from copies. The individuality of three artists, however, stands out more or less clearly—Bihzad, Agha Mirak, and Sultan Muhammad; and we are able to attribute many of the best paintings of this period (A.D. 1480-1530) to the hand or influence of one or another of them.

The artist about whom we know most and who has had in the past the greatest reputation is Bihzad. He lived from about 1460 to about 1525, passing the greater part of his life in Herat and Tabriz. He was Court-painter to Sultan Husain Mirza of Khurasan and at his death, in 1506, he entered the service of Isma'il, the first Safavid Shah of Persia. The exact date of Bihzad's death is unknown, but he was living when, in A.D. 1524, Shah Tahmasp ascended the throne. His fame lasted long after his death, and it eclipsed, perhaps unjustly, that of all the other painters in the annals of his country.

The Boston Museum owns several signed drawings and paintings of Bihzad, and others attributed to him and probably by him. His signature, when genuine, is so fine that forgeries of it are evident from their clumsiness. Some of these drawings of Bihzad are too small for reproduction. Three miniatures, however, by him or



Fig. 1. EMPEROR JAHANGIR AND HIS COURT. INDIAN BEFORE 1650.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

his school are here reproduced (Figs. 2, 3, 4). Figures 2 and 3 are no doubt from the hand of Bihzad himself; Figure 4, also very fine, is given by the critics to a painter of his school. These miniatures all show a remarkable delicacy of line, which is the most distinctive characteristic of this master, and one in which he has never been surpassed or equalled.

The page which shows the preparation for a feast in a garden (Fig. 2) is an early work, signed, under the table, in his minute but legible script. This page is part of a larger composition, forming one-half of the whole. The scene depicted suggests Bihzad throughout. An ancient plane tree with autumnal foliage fills the upper part of the composition. Alongside of the thick gray trunk and relieved against dark green grass and a red fence, is an imposing personage with a staff, preceded by two young attendants. The neutral and salmon-coloured ground of the enclosure offsets the costumes of the figures gathered near a table in the foreground. At the left, a bearded man addresses a youth who turns to answer him. This youth is dressed in vermillion and carries a shallow dish of pomegranates encircled by leaves. Two other youths are engaged in arranging gold and silver bottles on a blue table—one holding a silver bottle, while the other makes place for it on the table. Note the negro who, approaching a small gate, is steadying with both hands a basket of fruit which he carries upon his head. Note also the convincing importance of the before-mentioned man near the tree. Each figure has a personality quite its own. The composition of the figures and the space relations could not be improved.

An example of pen-drawing, signed by Bihzad, is undoubtedly authentic. It is an equestrian portrait of his first patron, the Sultan Husain Mirza (Fig. 3). This drawing, though somewhat stiff and rigid, is of extreme fineness and masterly precision.

Of much greater importance, from an æsthetic point of view, is the drawing of a seated angel. It is attributed to the School of Bihzad and is of the early sixteenth century. Every line is essential and vital. At the same time the handling is extremely delicate. Such a combination of vigour and refinement is but rarely accomplished. The position of the wings, the gesture of the left arm, and the sweep of the robe over the knee all give an unquestionable sense of poise. The texture of the wings, with ragged inner edges, contrasts with that of the thin drapery, as it falls over the raised knee

and spreads out upon the ground. The curve of the shoulders, the full oval of the face, and the elegant gold casque give this figure a great distinction.

The portrait of a captive prince (Fig. 4) is one of several versions of an original by Bihzad. But the careful drawing of the pale face and the brilliant scheme of colours give this example an especial interest. The prince sits on a ground of neutral coloured paper, with his head and left arm confined in a strange wooden instrument resembling a sling. Formerly this subject was considered a portrait of Timur; but authorities have since decided that the instrument is a "palahang"—a Chinese instrument of torture, and that the figure is that of a Mongol or Tatar prisoner. The aigrette in his turban indicates the rank of a prince. It has, therefore, been suggested that he is Murad, the last of the Aqqyunli, made prisoner by Isma'il in 1502; the last opponent of the Safavid Dynasty. These questions will no doubt be settled some day, but we need not wait for that to enjoy the splendid drawing and scheme of colour. Green predominates in the enveloping robe. The sleeves and twisted belt are white. The scroll design on the dark blue bow-case is repeated in the cap, the front of which, turned back, discloses a red lining. The proportion of space given to each colour is quite correct. The red, being the most intense and brilliant, covers the smallest surface.

Another example of the school of Bihzad showing a very successful grouping of figures in a landscape and a charming relation of colours is the fifth in this series. The central personage, seated on a carpet, is offered golden cups by two young men. Several musicians and other attendants are grouped on either side of a silver stream which winds through the composition. The entire ground is of gold, against which we see the several colours of the costumes—blue, red, and yellow—the high turbans with their coloured aigrettes, and the tufts of flowering plants.

The next two miniatures we shall consider are, probably, by Agha Mirak. This artist, although the pupil of Bihzad, was of nearly the same generation. He began his career at the end of the fifteenth century, in Herat, engraving, illuminating manuscripts, and working on ivory. His tendency was to employ in his paintings the motives of decoration which are common on the title-pages of manuscripts. In his work we see still Mongolian characteristics and a



FIG. 2. GARDEN SCENE: BY BIHZAD.

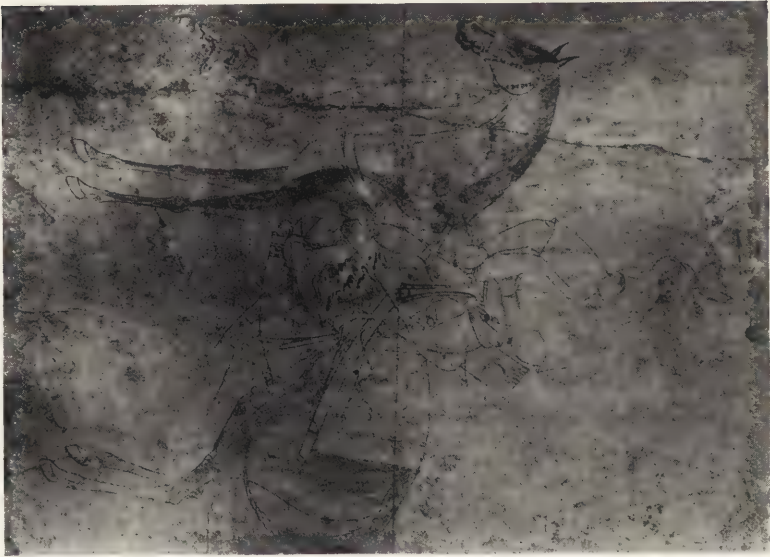


FIG. 3. PORTRAIT OF SULTAN HUSAIN MIRZA: BY BIHZAD.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



FIG. 4. A CAPTIVE PRINCE: COPY AFTER BIHZAD.
BEFORE 1650.



Fig. 5. A PRINCESS: BY MIRAK.



Fig. 6. A PRINCE: BY SULTAN MUHAMMAD.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

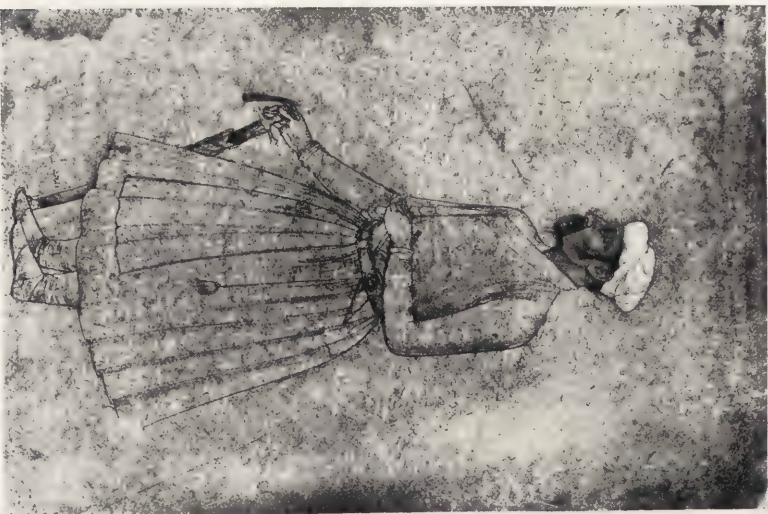


Fig. 7. PORTRAIT OF DARAB. INDIAN ABOUT 1650.



peculiar mannerism in his fully rounded faces, short figures, and lively colours. The principle of decorative effect was always uppermost in his mind. His masses of colour are especially well balanced, but his lines are not so delicately drawn as those of Bihzad.

The decorative quality of Mirak's work is well shown in the painting of the seated princess (Fig. 5). The figure is admirably spaced on a turquoise blue ground. She sits with her head slightly inclined toward a spray of white flowers which she daintily holds with the dyed finger-tips of her right hand. Her robe of lapis lazuli blue falls over one knee, while a black undergarment covers the other and the arms, nearly to the wrists. She wears a headdress of black with a peak and diadem of gold. The collar and edges of the sleeves of her blue robe are also of gold, outlined by a narrow line of red in a design with which we are familiar in the manuscripts of the period. About the headdress are fastened tendrils of leaves and red blossoms which serve as accents to intensify the predominance of the blues. Long gold pendants hang from her ears and a gold necklace is clasped closely about her throat. The paleness of her face is intensified by her black hair, parted and falling beside her cheeks. This painting is a supreme example of its type.

Another example, attributed to Mirak and very interesting, is the one representing a prince offering a pomegranate to a princess. The colours here recall those of the angel of the Mongol period, mentioned in the first article. In this piece by Mirak the contrasts of colour are no less vivid; as seen in the purple of the outer coat worn by the princess, the vermillion of the undercoat, and the turquoise blue of its lining, against the green of another undergarment. On her head is a gold diadem. A gold clasp fastens the belt at her waist, while gold decorates in different designs each of her three robes. A white scarf hangs out from a long sleeve which completely hides one hand, and she raises the other to receive the pomegranate offered her by the prince. He, also, is dressed in richly contrasting colours. The canary-yellow of his coat is shown over a light blue garment which in turn is foiled by a vermillion underrobe. On his feet are crimson socks. A hat of deep mauve is on his head, above a gold diadem. Over the gold rosettes of his belt is looped his dark blue scarf. The fabrics of this costume are further enriched by informal designs in gold. The lavish use of gold gives to the work of Mirak a surpassing brilliancy.

The third master, having a distinct personality, is Sultan Muhammad. The time of his birth is unknown but he died about 1555 A.D. He was Court-painter to Shah Tahmasp, who reigned at Tabriz from A.D. 1524 to 1576. He was a pupil of both Bihzad and Mirak; and the influence of each of these masters is seen in his work. He copied many Chinese works of the Ming period. Although his conceptions of subject and composition show imagination, his details are somewhat stereotyped. Again and again we see the same costumes, the same turns of the head, the same position of hands. The same accessories recur. His keen sense of the beautiful, however, makes up for all this, and he painted many pictures of rare beauty. One of the finest specimens of his work is that of a prince (Fig. 6) seated before a flowering tree and holding a golden bowl. He wears an ivory-coloured dress and a chalk-white turban. His face of a type to be seen even now in Bokhara is of a reddish tan. The most delightful part of this painting is in the lower corner, where we see a turquoise blue sheath and a vermilion bow, with malachite green boots, black socks and a white silver-trimmed sword; all in most perfect harmony. It is not unusual at this period for parts of a painting to be in slight relief, as in the instance of the right hand of the prince, the silver ball and chain which he holds and the blue lining of his collar. The strength of drawing in this piece, the disposition of colours, and the well-balanced pose of the figure show the hand of a master. Shah Tahmasp, a lover of splendid decorations, must have been well pleased with the work of his Court-painter.

The influence of Sultan Muhammad is seen in two other paintings of the collection, two portraits, probably by one of his best pupils. The portrait of a prince holding a book is superb in design and in colour. The figure is represented standing and turned three-quarters toward the front, on a turquoise ground. His short-sleeved coat is striped purple-brown and black, and on the black stripes are gold lozenges, set at alternating angles. Beneath this is a fawn-coloured robe, extending from the throat to the wrists and ankles. This has a pattern of gold. There is gold, too, in the evenly folded turban. The careful drawing of the eyes and mouth gives the effect of modelling and indicates a tendency towards greater realism. This tendency, stimulated by European examples,



Fig. 8. PERSIAN HUNTING SCENE. ABOUT 1570.



Fig. 9. THE DERVISH JALAL AL-DIN RUMI. INDIAN BEFORE 1650.



Fig. 10. A PRINCE WITH MUSICAL INSTRUMENT: SCHOOL OF SULTAN MUHAMMAD.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

produced in the seventeenth century a serious departure from Persian traditions and a rapid decadence of Persian art.

The prince playing on a musical instrument (Fig. 10) is almost if not quite as interesting as the portrait just described. The same qualities are evident—the same sense of decoration, the same harmony of brilliant colours. These colours are so disposed that they do not at all destroy the style and elegance of the figure. The prince is clad in a single long coat of vermillion on which is a scattered design in gold. Looped through his white belt is a dark blue scarf. His socks are apple green—the colour Sultan Muhammad was pleased to put next to vermillion. From the top of the white turban curve two slender gray feathers by the side of a black aigrette. The prince holds a fragile musical instrument in his delicate hands. His care-free young face and large eyes are turned blandly upward. The background is of uncoloured paper.

Although the mode of expression had become somewhat conventionalized, Persian artists could still express, late in the sixteenth century, a feeling for life with imaginative insight. This is shown in a painting dating from about 1570 A.D. (Fig. 8). The mounted horseman leans over the arched neck of his prancing black horse to grasp more firmly his spear which has been thrust down the throat and through the neck of a white leopard, leaping forward. The ground of neutral paper gives the colours great intensity. Sleeves of the olive-green under-garment show below the light purple coat of the prince. The saddle cloth is light blue edged with a broad band of gold. The horse may not be anatomically correct, the seat of the rider may not be any too secure, but the piece is rendered in such a manner as to give the observer, at first glance, the right impression. The Persian artists were never photographic in their representations.

The miniatures made in Persia in the latter part of the sixteenth century show an unmistakable decadence in the art of painting. The great painters born during the last years of the Timurid Dynasty were dead. Their successors lacked invention and constantly copied earlier works. They drew with less vigour and used colour with less skill. The Timurid tradition was worn out.

Simultaneously with this decline of the art in Persia, it began to flourish in India. When Babar left Afghanistan and conquered India in A.D. 1526, he carried with him illustrated manuscripts from

the collections of his Timurid ancestors. Indian artists copied these manuscripts, forming their style upon them. They were not, however, sufficiently inspired to achieve important results until the time of Akbar (1556). In works of this time we see that the compositions are Persian, like those of the early sixteenth century, while the details are typically Indian, worked out with that infinite care which is so characteristic of Indian productions. Portraits dating from this period are rare. They became the fashion, however, under Jahangir and his brilliant successor, Shah Jahan. These two monarchs kept a large number of artists employed, for the most part the same men. A certain type of portraiture was evolved which retained its popularity during both reigns—A.D. 1605 to 1659. The etiquette of the Mughal Court was rigid and it demanded certain conventionalities. A person was always represented in profile, and, usually, standing. These Indian portraits are drawn with great accuracy and refinement. As likenesses they are unsurpassed. The Museum owns many examples of Indian painting, but lack of space allows only three to be reproduced in this article.

The portrait (Fig. 9) of the dervish Jalal al-din Rumi represents Indian portraiture in the first half of the seventeenth century. Seated with his hands clasped about his knees, he gazes into the distance. His robe is of ruby red; the ends of his green sash just show below his arm; a white turban is neatly wrapped about his head. The drawing of the face and beard, done with scrupulous care, makes the anonymous painter of this little composition a peer of the best miniaturists of Europe. The more careless drawing of the matting, the book, and the stick leads one to believe that they may have been added later.

A development from this style of portraiture came in the time of Shah Jahan (A.D. 1628-1659). Artists concentrated their attention upon the head only of the subject, finishing it in faint colours, and left the rest of the figure in outline—sometimes almost invisible in its delicacy. The portrait of Darab (Fig. 7) is an important example of this type. He is represented standing with one hand at his belt and the other holding his sword-hilt—a conventional position when addressed by the monarch. The absence of colour on the figure accentuates the low modelling of the profile. The eye, especially, is drawn with great precision, yet so carefully that there is no trace of hardness in the technique. European influence, no doubt,

accounts for this relief in modelling which was quite unknown in the Persian work of the early sixteenth century.

The painting (Fig. 1) of Emperor Jahangir, son of Akbar, and his Court contains many excellent portraits. Among them, note especially in that of the Jesuit priest near the elephant at the left, how the artist has observed and depicted his features as faithfully as he has those of his own countrymen. The variety of colours is entertaining and their proper distribution helps to counteract a scattered effect of the composition. A failure to realize the composition as a whole, breaking it up with irrelevant details, is the chief fault of Indian painting. The success of the portraits, however, is unquestionable. Historically this painting is important because twenty-six of the names on the turbans or collars of the courtiers have been deciphered. We are thus enabled to recognize these men in other paintings in which they occur.

A comparison of Indian with Persian painting is unfair. The real difference lies in composition and its consequents. One marvels at the detail in illustrations from the Timurid school and in the works of Bihzad and his followers, until one has seen the best Indian drawings. The details in them are done with a microscopic care resulting in a loss of unity. As would be expected and as we have seen in three examples (Figs. 1, 7, 9) the Indian painters attained a proficiency in portraiture never reached by their Persian predecessors.

A summary of Persian and Indian painting from the twelfth to the seventeenth century shows the usual development of art. It begins with an elemental simplicity and order, conceived in the imagination, and developed partly by the sense of beauty and partly by the love of facts. Developed more and more by the love of facts and less and less by the sense of beauty, art becomes less imaginative and more imitative, until it is merely imitative, indiscriminately so,—and that is the end of it.

EARLY TEXTILES IN THE COOPER UNION COLLECTION : PART TWO · BY R. MEYER-RIEFSTAHL

EGYPTIAN TAPESTRIES

EGYPTIAN tapestries are not the oldest that we know to have originated in the Mediterranean basin. The earliest, dating from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., were found, as has been said, by Ludolph Stephani at Kertsch in the Crimea. In Egypt, in the early years of the Christian era, tapestries were made not only for the adornment of apparel but also on a larger scale for wall decoration. Important fragments of such mural tapestries, inspired by classic pictorial art, are preserved in the South Kensington Museum. Two years ago an especially beautiful wall decoration for the niche of a domestic chapel, with representations of allegorical genii accompanied by inscriptions in Greek, was to be seen at a dealer's in Paris. But tapestries were much more used for the ornamentation of garments after the fourth and fifth centuries of our era, when the orientalized taste of the Roman Empire produced a change in the style of dressing and introduced for both sexes a tunic with sleeves, adorned with circular medallions and trimming (*clavi*) generally executed by the tapestry method.

The decoration of garments with tapestry is much more frequent than with silk brocades. This leads to the question for what reason tapestry may have been preferred to brocades, although the products of the Alexandrian looms attained certainly a greater technical perfection than these simple medallions and borders which have been found by thousands in Coptic tombs.

It is certain that the tombs which have been unearthed in our days are not mostly tombs of prominent men but as a rule those of ordinary people. The garments they wear are manufactured of white linen, the tapestry decorations are sewn on the linen stuff, or on the better executed garments are inserted into the linen stuff. It results from this mode of decoration that the tapestries could be used for a fresh garment when the old one was worn out. Such a popular style of dressing applied to popular decorations, which could be manufactured at home. Tapestry making was then a home industry of the women; the complicated technique of producing patterns by weaving on the loom required more skilled work-

manship and was confined to industrial enterprises especially established for that purpose.

An explanation of the technical difference between tapestry making and weaving on a loom with shuttles will make this evident. In both processes, tapestry-weaving and shuttle-weaving, a loom is used with a set of warp-threads that form a sort of vertical screen. In shuttle-weaving the odd threads are separated from the even ones and can be moved in front of and back of the even ones by means of a special apparatus worked by the foot. The shuttle, with its weft-thread, is thrown so as to pass between the two rows of warp-threads. Then the odd threads, which at the first passing of the shuttle were in front of the even ones, are moved back and the shuttle is passed again between the two rows of warp-threads. For the third passing of the shuttle the first position of the warp-threads is resumed; and so on, alternately, until the whole fabric is built up. Every shuttle-weaving process is based on this system, which becomes very complicated as soon as intricate patterns of different colors, like those on Alexandrian silks, have to be produced; for it is necessary then to have different shuttles with weft-threads of different colors and also different groups of warp-threads (instead of merely odd and even ones), which have to be moved backward and forward before every passing of the shuttle.

It is a much simpler matter to produce intricate patterns of different colors by the tapestry process. Here also we have a loom, fitted with warp-threads, but now the weft-threads of different colors are twisted between the warp-threads only as far as the pattern requires, and no weft-threads run through the whole breadth of the fabric, as do those thrown by the shuttle in the shuttle-weaving process. As the tapestry process requires no complicated apparatus for the production of intricate patterns, it is common to many primitive civilizations, and the Egyptian tapestries, used for decorating tunics, may surely be considered as the products of domestic looms.

These technical considerations explain the different styles of the Alexandrian silk weavings and of the Egyptian tapestry work. The Alexandrian silk weavings are products of a highly developed industry, the tapestries are the work of the women at home; the Alexandrian industry is a Greek enterprise, the creators of these modest tapestries—often copied after Greek models—being gen-

erally native Copts. Being a rather popular art, these tapestries are in all their naïveté an expression of the art instinct of the Coptic natives. We have seen in the first chapter how deeply Alexandrian industry influenced later European and Oriental textile art by spreading Sassanian models over the whole earth. The artistic instincts of the Copts had, after the downfall of Byzantine rule in Egypt, a very strong influence on the development of Arabic art. Many ornamental motives—not only in textile art—especially the style of geometrical decoration, can be traced back to Coptic sources. Consequently these tapestries are not only documents interesting in themselves, but they are still more interesting as one of the sources of a new decorative style which through the Arabs spread over all the Mohammedan countries, and exerted a deep influence also on European art.

The Egyptian tapestries at Cooper Union, a part of which came from the collection of the well-known explorer and scholar, Dr. Rudolf Forrer, show very clearly the different epochs and developments of the Egyptian tapestry art, which we may exemplify by describing some specially characteristic fabrics.

The first group of tapestries are pieces of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., entirely Hellenistic in style. They are generally patterned with classical figures: genii, tritons, cupids, dancing girls and so forth. The earlier pieces are usually very simple in color, brown, black, dark blue or purple wool, alternating with white, being woven into the white linen. A particularly beautiful example of this Hellenistic style, remarkably delicate in workmanship, is shown in Fig. 11 (Vol. 3, No. 5, page 251), from the Cooper Union collection. The central field is framed by a running acanthus pattern forming medallions that contain lions, panthers, and hares—a pattern which is very common in Egyptian textile art and is, perhaps, of ancient Oriental origin. In the middle of the principal scene stands Bacchus, nude but for a panther-skin thrown over his shoulder and holding a drinking vessel in his hand. To the right of him is a dancing satyr shaking a sistrum, to the left is a bacchant, and at his feet are the panther, sacred to this god, and three figures of mænads, two of which seem to be fettered. As the whole is conceived altogether in the antique spirit, and as the technique is perfect, the piece is to be attributed to the fifth century.

The Bacchic subject of this fine tapestry is probably inspired



1
3
5

2
4
6

Fig. 1. MEDALLION: COPTIC TAPESTRY, AFTER ALEXANDRIAN SILK FABRIC. 6-7TH CENTURY.
Diam. 8cm. Polychrome on amaranth red ground.

Fig. 2. MEDALLION: COPTIC TAPESTRY. 6-7TH CENTURY.
Diam. 19,5:22cm. Polychrome on dark red ground.

Figs. 3, 4, 6. BORDERS AND MEDALLION: COPTIC TAPESTRY. 6-7TH CENTURY.
Dimensions of No. 3: 11,5:2,5cm.; of No. 4: 12:3cm.; of No. 5: diam. 7,5cm. Polychrome on amaranth red ground.

Fig. 5. MEDALLION: COPTIC TAPESTRY. 6-7TH CENTURY.
Diam. 28:29cm. Polychrome on dark red ground.

Cooper Union, New York



by the work of the greatest Greco-Egyptian poet of that time, Nonnos of Panopolis (Akhmîm)—the very place where the greater part of the Coptic textiles have been unearthed—who lived in the fourth century and wrote a great epic poem describing the legendary journey of Bacchus into India. This poem was famous throughout the whole Hellenistic world of letters and sowed in Egypt during the fourth and fifth centuries the seed for an aftermath of Greek epic literature. It is very curious to find in our tapestry an echo of this one-time famous poet of the Hellenistic world. Cooper Union possesses a number of other specimens of Hellenistic style, but none of them equals this Bacchic scene in quality and fine execution.

The large circular medallion shown in Fig. 10 (erroneously number 13) (Vol. 3, No. 5, page 251), is one of the best examples of that Egyptian geometrical interlaced ornament, the relation of which to Roman mosaics is indisputable but which seems to be an essentially Coptic creation.

In color this medallion is dark purple and white and, as also in Fig. 11 (Vol. 3, No. 5, page 251), the minor details of the design are worked in with a needle, the so-called "broche volante." An outer border, composed with kymation and quatrefoil motives, encircles the eight-pointed star formed by two intersecting quadrangles. This eight-pointed star was a favorite late-classic motive which we find, for instance, in the framing of the principal miniature in the famous Greek Dioscorides, written in the year 521, which is now in the Royal Library at Vienna. Not rare in examples of Egyptian tapestry-weaving, later on it was in favor with the Arabs for the adornment of their splendid gold-painted Cufic Korans.¹ The intricate pattern of interlaced bands in the central square of the star is characteristic of the geometrical interlacings so largely used in Egyptian textiles of the fifth and sixth centuries. Adopted by the Arabs after the conquest of Egypt, these interlacings became a leading motive in all Mohammedan decorative art. We find them in the beautiful parchment Korans adorned with gold that were produced in Egypt between the eighth and the tenth centuries; in the sculptures in stone, the stucco-work, the carved wooden doors, the ivory and bronze work, and the bookbindings—in short, in all the branches of Arabic art in Egypt. And this style of decoration quickly spread from Egypt, in the one direction through North Africa to Spain,

¹ Reproduction of a star-shaped title-page of a Cufic Koran in Martin, "Miniature Painting," Plate 234.

where it reached its climax of richness, if not of artistic perfection, in the intricate decorations of the Alhambra, and in the other direction through all the other Mohammedan countries—Persia, Syria and Turkey. In every period geometric ornament dominated in the Orient in the art of making books and also in carpet-weaving, playing an especially important rôle in the Persian carpets with geometrical patterns which no longer exist but are figured in the book illustrations of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In Egypt and in Turkey the Venetians made acquaintance with this style of decoration, which attained its greatest degree of delicacy in the well-known Azziminist bronzes made by Orientals at Venice. The Venetian bookbinders and medallists also delighted in it, and from them Leonardo da Vinci and Albrecht Dürer borrowed the motive of their famous interlaced ornaments. Bourgoin¹ has shown the strict mathematical basis of this “exuberant Oriental fancifulness.” Is it not strange that we should have discovered the origin of this style, which spread all over the ancient world, in the Early-Christian tapestries, forgotten for fifteen hundred years, which have recently been resurrected from Egyptian tombs?

In the fifth and sixth centuries two different styles must have existed side by side in Egypt—a Greek style practised in such industrial centers as Alexandria, and a popular style fostered on a small scale by the Coptic lower classes. The popular style was cruder and less refined than the Greek, but while the Hellenistic style lost its vitality toward the end of the sixth century, the really quite barbaric Coptic art of the people grew in strength and produced stuffs of great decorative beauty which, although not as original as contemporary Sassanian products, have nevertheless an individual character of their own. This is true in spite of the fact that these Coptic products of shuttle and tapestry weaving show many signs of Asiatic as well as of Hellenistic influence, often of much historical significance. Christian subjects constantly occur in this Coptic art of the people, which we can follow from the middle of the sixth century down into the Moslem period. And together with these fabrics silks were also produced in Upper Egypt, mostly as crude imitations of Alexandrian examples.

Cooper Union owns a number of tapestry medallions with figures on a dark red ground that date from the sixth or seventh cen-

¹ Jules Bourgoin: *Les éléments de l'art arabe*. Paris, 1879. Jules Bourgoin: *Précis de l'art arabe*. Paris, 1892.

tury and in all probability are Coptic replicas of Alexandrian silks with Christian or Hellenistic subjects. On the medallion shown in Fig. 13 on page 251 (erroneously numbered 10) a sitting female is approached by a genius who seems to carry a flower or a cup. This scene might be inspired by an Early Christian Annunciation. On another medallion (Fig. 1) we seem to recognize Hercules with Omphale. A third (Fig. 6), with a merely decorative design on a wine-red ground, fragments of which with the *clavus* pattern have also been preserved (Figs. 3, 4), is especially beautiful in execution. The field is equally divided by heart-shaped lines and is adorned with little floral motives, just as we find it on the earliest Græco-Egyptian silks with scattered flowers and again in Upper Egypt among the Coptic imitations of Alexandrian silks—as, for instance, on the pieces signed by the weaver Zacharias in the sixth century (Lessing, Pl. 3). It is remarkable also how close a resemblance there is between these delicate medallions and the decoration of Byzantine enamels of a later date.

A wider departure from Hellenistic traditions we see in Fig. 12 (page 251), a tapestry rectangle, probably from a sleeve, in the middle compartment of which is depicted the Sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham. Such three-part rectangles have been preserved in great numbers. One of them is owned by Mrs. Chauncey J. Blair of Chicago, another is in the author's possession, and a third, still sewed upon a sleeve, may be found among the Coptic tunics reproduced by Falke. The same scene is represented on an identical piece belonging to the Textile Museum of the Chamber of Commerce in Lyons (France). Greek inscriptions, hardly however to be deciphered, explain the representation of the Sacrifice, which is conceived in a stiff style very rich in color and free from all Hellenistic elements. The merely decorative squares to right and left of the central one show lozenges composed by cross-bands in the middle of which birds, little flower-vases, and leaf-motives are alternately introduced. This scheme of design is common on early Alexandrian silks but still more common on the Coptic silks from Akhmim.¹ Later on the same pattern plays a leading part in the early Arabian tapestries of red and yellow silk. All angles and corners are rounded off and the contiguous bands are playfully interlaced, yet even here the Arabs have directly imitated a Coptic scheme.

¹ See the illustrations in Forrer's *Seidenstoffe von Achmim*.

The tapestries shown in Figs. 2 and 5 reveal the Coptic textile art of the sixth and seventh centuries in the most characteristic phase of its development. The drawing has become crude and hard but both pieces are splendid in color, especially the one in Fig. 5, which is a medallion from a dark red tunic that was adorned with numerous medallions of different size. On Fig. 4 is a horseman bounding from right to left, while on either side of him run two accompanying figures and beneath him is a lion. Here we have a design derived from the Persian hunting scenes, already described, which we find on Sassanian silver platters, and later, symmetrically grouped, on Sassanian textiles. The costume of the horseman is a curious mixture. The fluttering *chlamys*, fastened on the left shoulder, is Greek, while, on the other hand, the singular close-fitting plaited dress with borders around the neck and armholes, which is worn alike by the rider and his companions, is Oriental and may be seen, identically the same, on the Asiatics portrayed on Greek vases of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. The foot-gear of the horseman is no longer the antique strapped sandal, but a leather shoe running to a point such as Forrer unearthed at Akhmîm.¹ The harness, again, is Roman and has none of the fluttering ribbons of Persian harnesses. Similar representations occur in varied forms on Coptic tapestries. In Cooper Union there is another example, in which the figure has been wrongly restored as a charioteer. The large haloes indicate a Christian subject, but the inscriptions that might explain it have been almost entirely destroyed.

In the medallion shown in Fig. 5, which dates from the seventh century, the relationship to the large-patterned Sassanian silks with symmetrically grouped figures of Persian kings hunting on horseback is very apparent. The composition is precisely the same: to right and left of a conventionalized palm-tree is an advancing horseman with his quarry at his feet. The costume of the rider, who wears a large halo, is the same as on the earlier tapestries; and the composition shows the *horror vacui* characteristic of all barbaric art, little scattered motives being introduced to cover the ground wherever the main motive leaves an empty space. Moreover, this central medallion is closely surrounded by others so that the design of the whole fabric resembles that of the medallion silks.²

¹ Forrer, *Funde von Achmin (Panopolis)*, 1891, Plate 7.

² See similar Alexandrian silks, Lessing, Pl. 9, 10; and Sassanian, Pl. 15.

NOTES ON SPANISH PICTURES IN AMERICAN COLLECTIONS · BY AUGUST L. MAYER

THE Museum of Arts at Worcester, Mass., owns an impressive picture—a full-length life-size portrait of a lady in red (formerly in the Lydig Collection at New York). It is attributed to Alonso Sanchez Coello, but this painter cannot be its author. The costume is of a later period, and the technique does not correspond to that of Coello. I have very little doubt that its real author is *Bartolomé González*, the very erratic court painter of Philip III and IV. González was a resolute follower of the *tenebroso* style, and it is clearly to be seen that the Worcester picture is entirely dominated by this manner, from the head to the little bow of ribbon on the lady's breast. The personality represented here is very difficult to identify. If she is not an Infanta (her features do not correspond to any of the Infantas known to us of this time) she is in any case a lady of noble birth, connected with the Spanish Court, as the mark of distinction on her breast indicates.

More complicated is the question concerning "The Portrait of a Gentleman" with the Order of Alcántara, Nr. 813 of the Johnson Collection. Wilhelm R. Valentiner thinks that this picture, formerly attributed to Velazquez, may be a work of Francisco Pacheco. It is true that there exist certain similarities with Pacheco's portrait in the Cook Collection at Richmond, England, but it is not entirely consistent with it in style. There is still a large group of puzzling portraits to which this picture also belongs: A Male Portrait in the Collection of the Marqués de la Vega Inclán in Madrid, which has perhaps the greatest claim of all to be attributed to Pacheco; the portrait of Espinar in the Prado Gallery formerly attributed to Velazquez, perhaps a work of Eugenio Caxes; and the portrait called "Lope de Vega" in the Hermitage at Petrograd, attributed there to Tristan.

The charming "Portrait of a Young Painter," Nr. 810 of the Johnson Collection, attributed to Orrente, is surely not by this master; and it is not even Spanish. It seems to me to be a portrait of a very young Flemish painter by himself, an extraordinary example of the premature talent of this young unknown man—if it is not the work of an elder Flemish master, who has portrayed here

a pupil or a relative. In any case the picture is neither Spanish in type nor in costume, nor in the technical treatment. Perhaps this very skilful Flemish artist will be discovered some day. Its master may have been an Antwerp painter, near to Jan Cossiers.

By Orrente is a very amusing genre picture which Dr. W. R. Valentiner possesses, a rustic scene which must belong to the latter period of the master, if it is really by him. The picture is painted very coarsely and recalls certain Andalusian works especially from the circle of the elder Herrera and Antonio del Castillo.

The different pictures attributed to *Ribera* in American public collections offer to us certain difficulties, because, besides the imitations by Luca Giordano—very easy to recognize—and pictures belonging only to the Neapolitan School of this period, there are a few pictures so skilfully painted after Ribera that it is difficult to say if they are really by him or not. For instance, "The Geographer" in the Boston Museum, which must be a late work of the master, if he really is its author.

The impressive "Crowning of Thorns" in the same Gallery seems to be painted by the master between 1630 and 1640. Surely not by Ribera is the picture also at Boston: "St. Sebastian cured by St. Irene." It is a characteristic imitation of Ribera by the young Luca Giordano (especially the ruddy flesh tints and the special blue tone betray this skilful imitator) as well as "The Geographer" in the Philadelphia Museum. In this Pennsylvanian Gallery there is also a fine example of Ribera's art: "St. Sebastian cured by St. Irene." The "Lucretia," in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, still attributed there to Ribera, is a very attractive and characteristic example of the art of Massimo Stanzioni.

The Prado Gallery in Madrid contains two fragments of Ribera's picture "The Triumph of Bacchus," burned in one of the great fires in the Alcazar at Madrid: the head of a "Priest" and the beautiful so-called "Sybille." I was very astonished to recognize another fragment belonging surely at one time to this picture in America: another head of a priest, belonging now to Mr. W. F. Cook in Pittsburg, Pa. It shows the same red background as the two fragments in Madrid. In the collection of King Charles III of Spain in the Sitio del Buenretiro are mentioned: "The head of Bacchus and three other heads," so that there is now missing only the head of the principal figure.



Fig. 1. RIBERA: ST. PAUL.
Collection of Mr. Archer M. Huntington, New York.



Fig. 2. FRANCISCO HERRERA THE ELDER: INTERIOR.
Collection of Mr. Eugen Boross, Larchmont, N. Y.



But perhaps the finest example of Ribera's art I know in America is the "St. Paul" (Fig. 1), signed in full by the master, belonging to Mr. Archer M. Huntington in New York, a picture which shows all the merits of Ribera's art; for it is careful in treatment, monumental, strong and dignified in composition, drawing, and expression.

As Juan de Ruelas, the founder of the glorious National Sevillian School of the seventeenth century, is not represented at all in American collections by authentic works, there is nothing astonishing that also *Francisco Herrera the Elder* has not yet found sufficient consideration until the present time. Only in the collection of Mr. Eugen Boross in Larchmont, N. Y., can we study this interesting master in an amusing large genre picture (Fig. 2), which shows all the characteristic signs of his manner: the fresh naturalism, his predilection for large interior scenes, and the broad coarse brushwork with the thick impasto. The picture belongs, with its *tenebroso* manner, to the first great Sevillian period of this master, and it has a very strong similarity with another work of Herrera in an Italian private collection which shows the painter himself in his studio.

It is curious that America owns at the present time very few authentic pictures by *Bartolomé Murillo*. But the most of them are of an extraordinary importance. Besides the marvelous work of his best time, "The Young St. Thomas of Villanueva distributing his Cloth among Little Beggar Boys," in the possession of Mrs. Emmerly, at Cincinnati, which I consider the most beautiful genre picture that Murillo ever painted, and one of his finest creations, I may mention the excellent "Portrait of a Man" in the collection of Sir William van Horne in Montreal and the amusing "Girls at the Window" at Philadelphia in Mr. P. B. Widener's collection, as so full of fine humor. And I do not hesitate to attribute to the early period of the master the portrait of a man (bust), Nr. 35 in the Museum of the Hispanic Society in New York, because it shows in each detail the characteristic manner of the great Sevillian painter. The "Coronation of St. Francis by the Christ" in the same collection seems to me to be rather a fine small copy by *Tobar* after Murillo's large picture in the Museum in Seville.¹

The "Martyrdom of St. Stefan" (Fig. 4), now in the collection

¹ The "Christ in the Desert," Nr. 816 of the Johnson Collection, attributed to Murillo, has nothing to do with the master. The picture is not even Spanish, and belongs to the North Italian School. It is painted about 1700.

of Mr. Eugen Boross in Larchmont, N. Y., was attributed for some time to Murillo, but this picture does not resemble any of the works by this master, whether of the early period or of his later. I believed at one time that this interesting picture might be by Angelo Nardi, a Florentine painter who worked in Madrid in the first half of the seventeenth century and exercised a certain but not yet sufficiently examined influence over several Spanish masters through his *tenebroso* style. However, in studying the original with its cautious execution in the treatment of the light (far from Nardi's strongly shadowed manner), its brilliant color, and its fine lyrical expression, it seems to me to be an important Andalusian work, and if Ruelas is not its author there is reason enough to believe that it is a brilliant creation by his excellent pupil *Pablo Legote*.

Among the many pictures erroneously attributed to Velazquez, I wish to draw attention first to the portrait of Philip IV which is in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. It is a late copy, not even from the studio of the master, and not worthy to be exhibited in such a select collection. The "Satyr with the Peasant," attributed to Velazquez in the Widener Collection at Philadelphia, Pa., is undoubtedly a very good and characteristic example of the art of Bernardo Strozzi, who chose very often not only types but also subjects from the Flemish masters. The small canvas called "The Borrachos" formerly in the Heytesbury Collection and now also in Mr. P. A. B. Widener's possession, signed *Diego Vazquez f. 1634*, has nothing to do with Velazquez. It is only a poor pasticcio after the great master.

The portrait of the Infante D. Baltasar Carlos in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston is not only a fine example of the art of Velazquez, but also of the greatest importance, as it gives to us—being surely painted in 1631—an excellent point for the study of the technique of the master immediately after his return from Italy. The portrait of the same Infante in the Wallace Collection in London, which is generally dated in the same year, is apparently later than the Boston picture, at least half a year; so if Velazquez painted the young D. Baltasar, born 17th of October, 1629, in the beginning of 1631, the London picture must have been worked on the end of 1631, or more probably in the beginning of 1632. Especially interesting in the Boston example are the ruddy half-shadows in the flesh tints in reflected light. Otherwise the half-shadows are



FIG. 3. MAZO: PORTRAIT OF A KNIGHT OF SANTIAGO.
Collection of Mr. William P. Douglas, New York.



FIG. 4. PABLO LEGOTE: MARTYRDOM OF ST. STEPHEN.
Collection of Mr. Eugen Boross, Larchmont, N. Y.



somewhat greenish, as we see especially in the dwarf. Further, I wish to draw attention to Velazquez' treatment of the embroideries on the Infante's dress: always changing, none of the weary, monotonous regularity of Mazo's manner (as Mazo's "Lady in Black" in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin and "The portrait of Da Antonia de Ipeñarrieta" in the Prado betray).

Of great interest is also the "Portrait of a Knight of the Order of Santiago" (Fig. 3) in the possession of Mr. Douglas in New York. It was always attributed to Velazquez, but it shows all the peculiarities which we now associate with the name of Mazo. If this noble portrait be not a copy of a lost original by Velazquez, it must be an original portrait by Mazo.

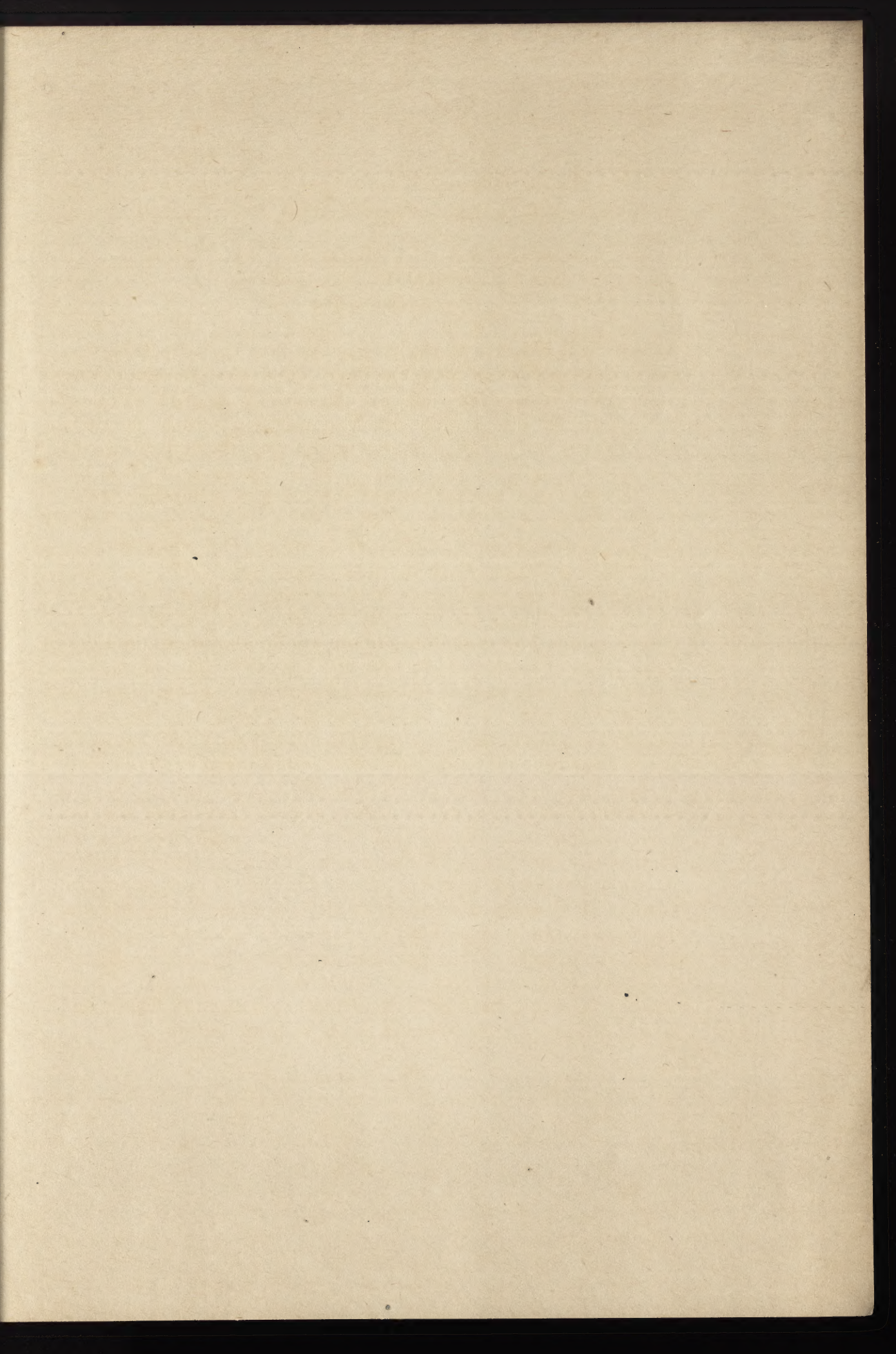
Among the works of the second-class painters of the Madrid school of the seventeenth century in American collections there is a picture which merits special attention: "The Antiquarian" in the collection of Mr. Archer M. Huntington. This attractive picture is also interesting for its value as an example in the history of Spanish culture, is generally attributed to Josef Antolinez, but if compared with the signed "Poor Painter" by Antolinez in the Old Pinakotek in Munich a striking difference is soon to be seen. It is true that there is a certain similarity with the manner of Antolinez, but yet it is another hand, not so free and loose. Perhaps the picture can be given to Antonio de Puga as well as the "Old Woman" in Mr. St. Bourgeois' possession. Puga is still a somewhat puzzling personality, known from old biographies as a skilful follower of Velazquez in life-size genre pictures. His early "St. Jerome," signed "Antonio de Puga F. 1636," in the Bowes Museum at Barnard Castle (England) is a disillusion, very poor in every way. Much better and related with Antolinez like the two pictures discussed here is "The Sword Grinder" in the Hermitage, generally given to Puga, and this picture has indeed very much in common with the style of the "Old Woman" and the "Antiquarian."

The Museum of the Hispanic Society of America contains a large portrait by *Carreño*, striking not only for its brilliant manner of execution, but still more for its subject. It represents King Charles II of Spain, about 18 years old, in armour, and differs from the large number of portraits of this king by *Carreño*, so well known in original paintings and school copies executed for the numerous Spanish state buildings. There exists in the "Museo del

Greco" in Toledo (Catal. Nr. 21) a picture very similar to that in the Museum of the Hispanic Society (2,34 m. x 1,27) signed

IOANNES A CARRENO FA^T_C PICTOR
CAMERÆ REGIÆ M^S. CAROLI II.
ANNO 1681

A superficial observer would perhaps suppose that the American example is a replica of the picture at Toledo. But the exact study of the two examples shows that not only both are original paintings by Carreño, but also that the American example must be the early one. Besides certain differences of minor importance between the two pictures, the American is larger on both sides and below, but smaller on the top, and the position of the fingers of the right hand, holding the marshal's baton, are changed—it is easy to be seen that the king is younger in the American example. The best and clearest proof is a comparison between the lower lips of the two heads. In the New York example the king does not yet show the characteristic protruding lower lip of the Hapsburg family, whereas the Toledo picture lets us see this famous special sign in all its clearness. I had the occasion to note this interesting phenomenon in another Hapsburg portrait when in commenting upon the early portrait of King Charles II's father, Philip IV, by Velazquez, in the Altman Collection. With the proof that the New York Charles II was finished two years earlier than the Toledo example, say in 1679, we have won a very important result. For this portrait of the king in armour must be the famous picture painted for Charles II's first bride and sent as a likeness to France to the future queen, Doña Maria Luisa de Orleans. Palomino in his "Parnaso Español" writes: ". . . and at last he (Carreño) made this famous portrait of Sire Charles II to send it to France, as they were negotiating the first marriage of His Majesty with the Serenisima Queen Doña Maria Luisa de Orleans." This marriage had been negotiated and confirmed in 1679, which goes very well with our hypothesis. Finally it may be said that the New York example was found in France and bought in Paris for the Museum of the Hispanic Society.



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